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MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE INQUIRY

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Government
Publications

IN THE MATTER OF APPLICATIONS BY EACH OF
(a) CANADIAN ARCTIC GAS PIPELINE LIMITED FOR A
RIGHT-OF-WAY THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS
CROWN LANDS WITHIN THE YUKON TERRITORY AND
THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES, and
(b) FOOTHILLS PIPE LINES LTD. FOR A RIGHT-OF-WAY
THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS CROWN LANDS
WITHIN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
FOR THE PURPOSE OF A PROPOSED MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE

and

IN THE MATTER OF THE SOCIAL, ENVIRONMENTAL AND
ECONOMIC IMPACT REGIONALLY OF THE CONSTRUCTION,
OPERATION AND SUBSEQUENT ABANDONMENT OF THE ABOVE
PROPOSED PIPELINE

(Before the Honourable Mr. Justice Berger, Commissioner)

Yellowknife, N.W.T.,

July 22, 1976.

PROCEEDINGS AT INQUIRY

Volume 168

CANADIAN ARCTIC
GAS STUDY LTD.

JUL 26 1976

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APPEARANCES:

- Mr. Ian G. Scott, Q.C.,
Mr. Stephen T. Goudge,
Mr. Alick Ryder, and
Mr. Ian Roland, for Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry;
- Mr. Pierre Genest, Q.C.,
Mr. Jack Marshall,
Mr. Darryl Carter, and
Mr. J.T. Steeves, for Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline Limited;
- Mr. Reginald Gibbs, Q.C.,
Mr. Alan Hollingworth, and
Mr. John W. Lutes, for Foothills Pipe Lines Ltd.;
- Mr. Russell Anthony,
Prof. Alastair Lucas and
Mr. Garth Evans, for Canadian Arctic Resources Committee;
- Mr. Glen W. Bell and
Mr. Gerry Sutton, for Northwest Territories Indian Brotherhood, and Metis Association of the Northwest Territories;
- Mr. John Bayly and
Miss Lesley Lane, for Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, and The Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement;
- Mr. Ron Veale and
Mr. Allen Lueck, for The Council for the Yukon Indians;
- Mr. Carson Templeton, for Environment Protection Board;
- Mr. David H. Searle, Q.C.,
for Northwest Territories Chamber of Commerce;
- Mr. Murray Sigler and
Mr. David Reesor, for The Association of Municipalities;
- Mr. John Ballem, Q.C., for Producer Companies (Imperial, Shell & Gulf);
- Mrs. Joanne MacQuarrie, for Mental Health Association of the Northwest Territories.

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Beakhust, Usher, Brody

Yellowknife, N.W.T.

July 22, 1976.

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

MR. BAYLY: Before we begin the cross-examination again, sir, Mr. Brody has some further thoughts on a question regarding the church in response to one of Mr. MacQuarrie's questions yesterday.

GRAHAME BEAKHUST,

PETER J. USHER,

HUGH BRODY, resumed:

WITNESS BRODY: I think that it was in response to a question from the judge. I felt that somehow we were onto an issue of enormous importance, and I understand from reading the transcript and also from asking some people last night it was not a subject that has ever got dealt with at all in the course of this Inquiry. It seemed perhaps it was worth saying just a few things about it, not at enormous length.

The first thing I'd like to say as a qualification to what I said yesterday is that the disappearance of aboriginal religions has not been anything like as complete as perhaps I was implying, or is generally implied by the literature. There are many places in the eastern and central sub-Arctic that I know of where traditional religious life continues at least in a covert or moderated form.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody

1 Furthermore, if we understand
2 by "religion" a very broad metaphysic rather than just
3 a set of routines and rites and practices, then
4 there's a case for saying that many things about
5 traditional or aboriginal religious life persisted
6 very close to the present and probably persist well
7 into the present. A particularly good example of this
8 is the naming system, for example, in the Eastern
9 Arctic, whereby people in many areas are given a
10 name which is the name of someone in their family,
11 or a friend of the family who died recently and
12 in being given that name they are in fact given that
13 person to inhabit them. That's a quasi religious
14 belief or practice that persists very strongly, des-
15 pite Christianity.

16 I think the other thing to
17 be said is that there's a special relationship between
18 hunting and gathering societies and any other society
19 which intrudes upon them, in virtue which they tend
20 to be accommodating. The sociology or the anthropology
21 of such societies suggest that deviants, social stress,
22 any kind of conflict or difficulty is dealt with,
23 all these things are dealt with by movement, by
24 adjustment. Hence they're semi-nomadic. If someone
25 comes in on them, they move away. If there's somebody
26 in their society who is a difficult personality, you
27 move away from him. Their system for social control
28 is not to suppress the person who's bad, it's to
29 go away from him. That is a feature common to all
30 these societies. That means that when colonial

Beakhust, Usher, Brody

1 pressures of any kind exist, there's a tendency just
2 to accommodate, to shift and let them be, to try
3 and keep out of the way. This applies to the land,
4 but it also applies to religious beliefs. Religion
5 in such societies is not part of a system having
6 internal social control, as it is in settled societies.
7 That means that a new set of religious beliefs can
8 quite easily be accommodated. It doesn't threaten the
9 whole system of local control directly. So you have
10 more than one set of beliefs co-existing, and that's
11 typically the case of societies under the impact of
12 early colonialism in West Africa, for example, where
13 it's very well-documented, and it's certainly the
14 case in the Canadian north too.

15 I think that kind of the
16 sociology of these societies has all kinds of impli-
17 cations.

18 THE COMMISSIONER: That in
19 some ways accounts for the success of Christianity --

20 A That's right.

21 Q -- around the world as
22 part of the things, the white people brought with them.

23 A Yes, that's what I'm
24 saying.
25 It's particular and very remarkable occurrence of
26 that among the hunting and gathering and also pastoral
27 societies. It's very striking to compare the
28 case of hunting and gathering societies in this con-
29 tinent with the more settled societies in this continent,
30 even with Canada you can find a comparison. If you
say the Iroquois were six nations on one hand, and

Beakhust, Usher, Brody

1 compare that to the sub-Arctic Indians or the Inuit
2 peoples on the other, you find among the Iroquois,
3 who are actually subjected to much more savage
4 religious assault than the Inuit ever were, that they
5 resisted very strongly because the whole set of social
6 ^{control} system was threatened, and they resisted to this
7 day.

8 Equally if you take the
9 Pacific Coast area of British Columbia, you find the
10 same thing -- much of a deep resistance to religious
11 intrusion which you do not find in sub-Arctic and
12 Inuit people. This is a function of the sociology
13 of these societies. The difference is in their
14 sociologies.

15 I thought that might be worth
16 mentioning the point.

17 Q Just to make sure I
18 understand it -- and you're, I'm sure, compressing
19 a whole body of knowledge into just a few sentences
20 -- but you say this is a feature of hunting and
21 gathering societies, and of pastoral societies as
22 opposed to technological, industrial --

23 A More settled societies,
24 agricultural societies.

25 Q Well, I see. Well, the
26 people on the West Coast of British Columbia were
27 hunters and fishermen and gatherers. They were settled.

28 A They were settled,
29 that's the point.

30 Q That's the point.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody

1 A Yes, that's the confusing
2 thing.

3 Q Because they can't move
4 away.

5 A That's right. They have
6 permanent villages, permanent homes, permanent communi-
7 ties.

8 Q Yes.

9 A And permanent terrain,
10 too.

11 Q Yes.

12 A And delineated land-use
13 in relation to their neighbors.

14 Q So/that capacity in the
15 spacial sense for accommodation which is perhaps the
16 vital consideration.

17 A That's right, and this
18 accommodation in a spacial sense you're referring to
19 is the psychological and the sociological mechanism
20 alike, it is bound into the whole way of viewing
21 the world of such people. So when a foreign religion
22 comes into people who move, they accept it or happen
23 to move away geographically but are in a much better
24 position socially and psychologically to make that
25 accommodation to it, and to go through the appearance
26 of accepting, believing it, whatever the actual belief.

27

28

29

30

THE COMMISSIONER:

Q Well thank you, that's
very incisive.

MR. GOUDGE: I just have a few
questions for this panel sir. Let me begin with you,
Dr. Usher.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GOUDGE:

Q In your overview presenta-
tion, that is the first paper that you gave the other
day, at page 31, you make reference to what I under-
stand to be three methods, perhaps alternative by
which the traditional sector might be maintained. The
traditional sector --

WITNESS USHER: Excuse me,
Mr. Goudge, you mean the traditional economy paper,
not the overview?

Q Yes, sorry. The traditional
economy paper. If you turn to page 31 there, as I
understand you, you say that one of three things is
required if the traditional sector is to be maintained,
either substantial native control over all lands or
native ownership of all lands or effective native
input to land use planning. Do I understand you correctly
that those three are alternatives through which the
traditional sector might be preserved?

A Yes. I'm not sure which
I would pick as the best means of achieving this, but
I wonder if I could say a few things that in trying to
think through what the implications of any one of
those are, you know, what I meant by saying that.

The idea that -- I think this

1 is somewhat simplistic notion abroad in a sense that
2 land claims are somehow just about owning land and I'm
3 not -- when I say what I'm going to say, I'm not
4 telling you necessarily what I think native people
5 want or ought to have or something. Merely what I'm
6 trying to think through are the consequences of any
7 one particular approach to this problem. In other
8 words, if your objective is to maintain the traditional
9 economy, then are some of the standard approaches in
10 a variety of land claims settlements that we've seen
11 appropriate to that, and what troubles me is that I
12 think they're not, and some of the reasons are this;
13 first of all, the models that we've seen so far involve
14 a selection of land, so that the notion implicit in
15 all these is well, you keep so much and you give up
16 so much and that means parcelling it out. It probably
17 means in the end surveying specific amounts of land,
18 you got so many acres here. In Alaska it was done on
19 a checkerboard pattern.

20 Now, these -- the problem,
21 I would foresee a real problem with land selection as
22 far as native people are concerned for this reason,
23 that the whole idea of putting boundaries on certain
24 areas and saying, well, this is for something and this
25 is for something else is so totally alien to the way
26 people would perceive the land and the use that one
27 makes of it. I know that in the federal government
28 for example, there's the idea that, for example at
29 meetings when they go to communities, well, tell us
30 what the critical areas are and we'll stay off those

1 maybe. But it's not easy to identify a critical area
2 and I'll give you the example of Cape Bathurst, at
3 -- which has been very important to the Tuk people
4 and there's been a land freeze and there's an artificial
5 line drawn at a certain point. I believe it's latitude
6 69 - 50. Well, that is an extremely artificial
7 boundary and I've been to many meetings in Tuk where
8 people have, you know, they put that line because they
9 sort of figured they had to draw a line somewhere. It
10 didn't mean they were happy with it and that they felt
11 that that really protected their interest. That was
12 a sort of short-term thing, just to protect it for
13 the time being. They said, well, look, these caribou
14 migrate off there and if you can't protect the whole
15 range that the caribou are on, then what's the good
16 of protecting that small part of the range. What's
17 a critical area now may not be a critical area 25 years
18 or 50 years down the road, so you're locking yourself
19 potentially into a box by this idea of saying, well
20 if we select this piece and this piece and this piece,
21 we're going to be able to protect the resources on which
22 people depend.

23 It's a very difficult exercise
24 to draw those boundaries and particularly in the minds
25 of the people who have to live with that selection.
26 I mean, I can sit there and draw a boundary roughly on
27 the basis of what people tell me, but for them, and
28 they're the ones that have to live with it, it's very
29 difficult to do that. That's why I said, all lands.
30 I don't think that the idea that somehow you can say,

1 well, okay, they've got control over these lands and
2 they'll make their living off those particular pieces
3 of land and the others can be, you know, more or less
4 freely developed for industrial use. I'm very concerned
5 about that.

6
7 You see, even if they have
8 hunting and trapping rights over all lands, hunting
9 and trapping is a residual right so what you're left
10 with is the right to hunt and trap for something which
11 in 25 years may not be there by virtue of the other
12 activity which was permitted on that. So that that
13 right really is not worth very much at all, if that's
14 all that's given on the other category of lands.

15 Now then, ownership, as I
16 understand it is, at least in the settlements that
17 have occurred so far, always involves the right of the
18 government to expropriate and it seems to me that
19 very small amounts of expropriation can render very
20 large amounts of land totally useless. Let me give
21 you a hypothetical example. Let's suppose that, you
22 know, 200,000 square miles are required for the main-
23 tenance of a certain caribou herd, let's say in the
24 Keewatin or something and if you account for their
25 summer and winter range and you want to keep that
26 area in its integrity, to maintain that herd, so you
27 say, okay, people have selected "X" number of square
28 miles and that's wonderful, that's their land in
29 perpetuity except that at some point there's a mine
30 discovered in the middle of that and then the government

1 comes along and says, look, we're going to expropriate
2 10 square miles. It happens that that's 33 feet by
3 500 miles and it cuts right across the middle of that.
4 I suggest to you that that's made your 200,000 miles
5 absolutely dead worthless in the end, if that -- you
6 know, if in fact that really is harmful to the caribou
7 herd.

8 So, the simple ownership
9 of land, of select pieces of land somewhere along the
10 line seems to me quite inadequate for the purposes that
11 it is supposed to represent.

12 Now, if in fact, what native
13 people really want in the end is to say, no we're
14 not going to select land for traditional purposes,
15 we're going to select it for revenue purposes, mines
16 and oils, well then, that's fine, they've accomplished
17 what they wanted to. But if the objective is to
18 maintain the viability of the traditional economy,
19 then the land selection process really worries me as
20 a means towards that end so that I think you have to
21 have some kind of land use, if not outright ownership,
22 then some kind of, -- well, the control and the planning
23 seems to me, virtually identical. If you have control,
24 that means you're allowed to plan what goes on and if
25 you have effective input into the planning, that's the
26 same as having some control over it.

27 I would guess that means some
28 kind of veto power, that if in their considered opinion
29 that the expropriation of that particular piece or
30 certain activity on any piece is directly harmful to

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 their interest, then surely only through their ultimate
2 veto power can they protect those interests.

Reakbust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 Q Will you emphasize in your
2 response the treatment of all lands as a whole.
3 You say as I understand you that one method of achieving
4 protection of the traditional sector is the involvement
5 in a substantial way in land use planning. You say that
6 may approximate a veto power. I wonder, in your
7 thoughts about institutions that might achieve that
8 end what room you provide for non-native northern
9 participation in land use planning.

10 A That would be quite a
11 difficult question for me to answer, I think. I
12 personally have not given a great deal of thought to
13 the specifics of the institutional mechanism. I haven't
14 heard much thinking sort of going on at that level of
15 specificity amongst the native people. Nobody has
16 particularly asked me to think about that very seriously
17 so I haven't done it. I suppose that is really their
18 prerogative when the time comes to figure out what
19 kind of institutions they would feel are appropriate.
20 Are you asking for my personal thoughts on that?

21 Q Well, if you have any.
22 I take it you haven't thought it through very carefully and
23 therefore perhaps don't feel in a position --

24 A Not really. If you are
25 thinking in terms of, you know, how many people on the
26 commission and what proportion of representation --
27 what parties are represented, no I haven't really given
28 that very much thought. No.

29 Q Your ultimate position
30 though is that substantial native involvement in land

Reakbust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Coudge

1 use planning would be sufficient provided the planning
2 treated land as a whole and that ownership is not
3 absolutely necessary?

4 A I don't know if I would
5 say that ownership is not absolutely necessary. That
6 depends on the conditions. I suppose what I am more
7 concerned about is that I don't think ownership on its
8 own is sufficient. In other words, ownership may be a
9 necessary but is certainly not a sufficient condition
10 to ensure the objectives that I am talking about.

11 Q Well we then come back
12 to your statement on page 31 which sets out then, as
13 I understand you, not alternatives but corollaries.
14 Ownership may have to be accompanied by effective
15 land use planning input.

16 A Yes. Perhaps what I
17 am saying is that I could conceive of, although rather
18 hazily in my mind at this moment, a situation in which
19 you didn't have to have direct ownership in order to
20 control all that land. You know, if it were -- if the
21 objectives of society at large were fairly uniform on
22 this between native people in southern Canada, then I
23 don't suppose it would really matter who owned it as
24 long as everybody could agree on a reasonable means of
25 planning this piece of land. Given the fact that there
26 is fundamental -- assuming that there is a fundamental
27 conflict in objectives over land use, then I would
28 suspect that ownership is -- well ownership means
29 control to me generally.

30 Q Yes. Thank you. Mr.

Beakhurst, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Coudge

1 Brody let me turn to you briefly. At page 20 and page
2 21 of your first presentation, you --

3 WITNESS BRODY: The first one?

4 Q The first one , yes sir.
5 You've described, as you put it, the systematic mis-
6 understanding which has developed between whites and
7 natives at the frontier. As I think you responded the
8 other day, you indicated that when in the past, natives
9 have said "yes", they don't really mean yes. Is that
10 a fair paraphrase of your position on those two pages?

11 A Yes, it's two-thirds of
12 a fair paraphrase I think. The other third is slightly
13 difficult for me to explain I think without taking too
14 long. Very often what the native person says "yes" to,
15 my argument is here, is not really what the person he is
16 presenting the situation to, to the native person thinks
17 he is saying yes to.

18 In other words, the native
19 person may be told that there are opportunities for work
20 in the mine, let's say, or on the pipeline. He would
21 say "Do you want to work on the mine site?" The native
22 person will say "yes". But in fact not be meaning that
23 he wants to work on that pipeline but that he needs to
24 earn some money or that he feels that he ought to do what
25 he is told to do. Either of those two things could be
26 going on.

27 What I suppose the more general
28 point is behind all this is that understanding what is
29 going on in debate between the representatives of industry
30 and native persons is a very tricky matter indeed. One

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 should not be satisfied just with say questionnaire
2 type evidence or with the outward appearances of a
3 meeting.
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Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 Q You're saying, though,
2 that this systematic misunderstanding is an inevitable
3 characteristic of all native-white contact at the
4 frontier?

5 A I think insofar as it
6 is inevitable, that inevitability has to do with the
7 kinds of historical conditions I've outlined. It's
8 not an inevitability any larger than that. It is not
9 inconceivable, for example, that it be otherwise.
10 It's quite conceivable that should be otherwise.
11 But given the historical circumstances, given the
12 socio-economic realities I've tried to outline, it's
13 very likely indeed this situation that you're referring
14 to will persist. Does that answer the question?

15 Q Yes, is it a character-
16 istic, I take it you say it is a characteristic of
17 present contacts between natives and white authority
18 at least at the frontier.

19 A In every community I've
20 been, I have seen it happening. Some communities
21 I haven't been in. I'm slightly nervous of making
22 a very total generalization out of this, though my
23 opinion is, my belief is that is probably true through-
24 out. At the moment that is what is going on.

25 Q Let me ask you in
26 particular terms, you're familiar, I take it, in
27 some degree with the transcripts of the community
28 hearings of this Inquiry.

29 A Yes.

30 Q Would you characterize

Beakhurst, Fisher, Brady
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 that interface in the same way?

2 A No, I make mention of
3 that in the paper. I say that those transcripts suggest
4 a remarkable, absolutely remarkable degree of forth-
5 rightness on the part of natives appearing -- native
6 persons appearing before this Inquiry, and many people
7 with a lot of experience of the north, ^{and with} more experience
8 in the north than I've had, have been astonished by
9 the quality of those hearings. They are an outstand-
10 ing exception. They may represent a change, maybe a
11 tribute to the way in which those hearings were held,
12 it may be something to do with buildup in the communi-
13 ties you were in which were the Delta communities of the trans-
14 cripts I read. But the buildup in those communities
15 is very deep, uneasy about what's going on over say
16 a 20-year period. It's a question of interpreting
17 why there is this remarkable exception.

18 Q All right, just one
19 more question on that. I'm interested as to why you
20 should underline the accuracy or the legitimacy of
21 that interface while being concerned about the
22 misunderstandings, you say, developed in most other
23 facets of white-native contact at the frontier.
24 What's the explanation?

25 A Well what are the
26 criteria that were used?

27 Q Yes.

28 A Well, there's one
29 criterion and perhaps it's self-confirmatory and that
30 is ^{they're} saying the kinds of things at the community hearings

Beakhus, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 which people have been saying to/ but not saying at meetings
2 for some years. For instance on the subject of
3 drinking, I read the parts that had to do with alcohol
4 and out loud people were saying things that they told
5 me they had not said in other communities. People in
6 other communities have told me, "We don't say that
7 kind of thing, we can't say that kind of thing."
8 And lo and behold, in the community hearings they're
9 being said. That's one criterion, matched with what
10 I believe is in fact the native view. That's my
11 opinion, of course. I'm aware of that.

12 A second consideration that
13 has influenced me greatly is the account I've been
14 given of the way in which those community hearings
15 proceeded. Apparently in many of them -- I stand
16 to be corrected here -- but apparently in many of
17 them the voice emerged very slowly, the first opinions
18 were mentioned with nervousness and some apprehension.
19 Gradually there was a snowballing effect whereby
20 people gained -- felt more and more confidence in
21 the Inquiry team or whoever, and started to say more
22 and more and more.

Now that kind of process is just the kind of process you do not see at the meetings I'm describing, the situation which I have always regarded as normal. The account of that process influenced my view a great deal of those community hearings. I thought that sounds like a different kind of thing altogether. That's the second one.

Beakhurst, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 The third one is the affirma-
2 tion of feeling about the land. This relates very
3 closely to my first consideration, but it is in
4 a way different. The thing that people have been
5 most reluctant to say is, "We must have our land,
6 we must have our renewable resource sector." Because
7 in the history of northern white-native
8 relationships, the view has always been encouraged
9 that -- sorry, correction -- Hobson's choice has
10 always been created whereby the natives were made
11 to feel they had to choose between the land on the
12 one hand and total industry on the other, and therefore
13 if they rejected the industrial development view,
14 they were rejecting all monetary income. They would
15 be going back to wooden boats, harpoons, whatever,
16 Kayaks, harpoons and such like. That feeling, that
17 was ultimate in fundamental choice they've been
18 made to make, and they felt they were never able to
19 say, "Listen, we do want the land. The land is
20 important." Because by saying that, they were by
21 implication rejecting all modernity.

22 But in the community hearings
23 people are obviously out of that bind. They were
24 able to say, "We do want some things about the past;
25 we want some things about the present." In other
26 words, they're making a shopping list rather than
27 seeing things in terms of total packages, to go back
28 to the metaphors of yesterday.

29 It gave me a sense of great
30 confidence in what was being said.

Beaknust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 Q Why, because that --

2 A Because that is a great
3 break with the trap that they have been in for a long
4 time. People have said to me, "we are in this, fine.
5 We don't know how to approach the development people.
6 We don't know how to approach the representatives of
7 industry, because they are going to take everything
8 away from us. We can't talk about the land." But there
9 in the communities they were talking about the land.

10 Q Your sense through your
11 own contacts was that they wanted a third option besides
12 the Hobson's choice you've described?

13 A Absolutely right, yes.

14 THE COMMISSIONER: The view
15 has been expressed by some white northerners at
16 community hearings that the native people have only
17 that limited choice. They buy our way of life and
18 become like us, or they go bare-assed back into the
19 bush. The people at the community hearings appear to
20 be working out for themselves and for us the third
21 choice if that is an appropriate way of putting it.
22 It takes a little while, presumably, to work that out.
23 As a result there is a certain amount of impatience
24 expressed by some people in the white community.
25 Now what do ^{they} want? Articulate it. Tell us and consider
26 the detail and then we can go on from there. That
27 seems to be what is occurring.

28 A Yes. I suspect that has
29 something to do with the way in which the community
30 hearings were a succession of hearings and the ^{news} / no doubt

Peakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 went about and the fact that there was no great risk
2 in getting up and speaking became the atmosphere that
3 dominated the communities. I think there are all
4 sorts of considerations that make me have a great deal of
5 confidence in them.

6 MR. GOUDGE: Well let me
7 move then if I may to two other points that you make
8 and both of which I'd be grateful for your elaboration
9 on. On page 26 of the same paper, you refer in passing
10 to the occurrence in Rankin Inlet when the mine closed
11 there as an example, I take it, of a boom and bust
12 scenario. Is that your recitation?

13 A Yes.

14 Q Perhaps you could tell
15 us a little more about what happened at Rankin Inlet?

16 A You tax my memory a
17 bit. I think the life of the mine which was a lead
18 zinc mine -- nickel mine, sorry -- a nickel mine.
19 I think the life of the mine was eight years. The
20 labor for that mine was brought from the interior,
21 Hudson's Bay and coastal west Hudson's Bay coast areas.
22 That is to say from the Ivingmiut and the Tuktuamiut
23 the interior peoples who had been, in the case of the
24 latter group, experiencing very considerable hardships
25 and some starvations in fact in the late '40's and
26 early '50's.

27 These people were used as a
28 labor pool for the nickel mine and relocated in Rankin
29 Inlet which prior to that time I don't think had been
30 much of a community at all. In fact, there may have been

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 nobody there. I am not sure. They closed down a
2 community slightly down the coast and relocated that
3 in Rankin Inlet. At the end of the eight year period,
4 there was no other employment in that community and
5 what was left on the ground in fact was a society made
6 up of two different -- at least two different cultural
7 groups who did not particularly want to live together.
8 The society located as far as hunting and trapping
9 was concerned, in a mediocre area, not a disasterous
10 area but a mediocre area. There was seen to be nothing
11 to be done. There was no question at that time of
12 encouraging a relocation on the land. That might have
13 been quite practical in fact, but nothing was done in
14 that area.

15 In fact, Rankin Inlet became
16 a sort of exercise in welfare services of all kinds.
17 There were these people who had to be provided for
18 because they were there. It became a case in point of
19 a very, very high level of transfer payments of all
20 kinds. It gradually became a place of very high
21 alcohol use, severe family breakdown problems which
22 in turn generated another level of welfare services
23 to deal with these.

24 THE COMMISSIONER: Did the
25 mine last eight years?

26 A It did last eight years.
27 I think. I am not absolutely sure about it exactly.
28 Maybe someone here knows the exact time but I think it
29 was eight years.

30 MR. GOUDGE: Dr. Usher, do you

Beakhusht, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 WITNESS USHER: I thought it
2 operated from '57 - '61 but I am not sure about the
3 actual operation as opposed to the sinking of a shaft.

4 WITNESS BRODY: I think there
5 were eight years of employment.

6 THE COMMISSIONER: It was
7 underground?

8 A It's underground, yes.
9 That's another thing. The labor was underground.

10 MR. GOUDGE: I take it
11 though a large component of the problem arose from
12 the fact that the workers were transported into the
13 community to begin with?

14 A I just -- it is very
15 tricky to answer that. Obviously, that was one of the
16 problems. Another of the problems according to Professor
17 Williamson who is the recognizable authority on this
18 subject I think, was that the people were underground.
19 They didn't like it. It was very difficult indeed.
20 Another of the problems according to Williamson is that
21 they were very uneasy about living in the same community;
22 these two groups and that that is a continuing problem
23 I am told. But in the end, the grave problem was
24 that you had a total employment situation which made
25 it impossible for the maintenance of much subsistence
26 activity. It was very hard to maintain a dual economy
27 for these workers. They worked very long shifts, full-
28 time.

29 A dual economy wasn't
30 maintained very well. In any case, it probably could

Testimony of Mr. J. H. Smith
before the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources

1 not have been maintained very well given the poor area.
2 Of course, this relates to a secondary difficulty in
3 that in order to maintain it at all they had to travel
4 very great distances, particularly for caribou I think.
5 When I was in Rankin Inlet, the caribou herds were
6 actually increasing in 1971 and 80 or 90 miles was
7 the standard journey for caribou hunting. It's a
8 long way for a hunter to go if he is working at a
9 full-time job, and very often have to go much further.

10 So it seems to me the
11 central problem was that when the mine closed, there
12 was nothing else really.

1 Q The problems really
2 started to appear in capital letters when the mine
3 closed.

4 A The kind of problems
5 that I tend to focus on, yes. I think there were
6 problems all along but they were problems of adjustment
7 and after all eight years is not a very long time
8 span anyway, I think.

9 Q Now, dealing with another
10 operation that I think you're familiar with, the
11 Strathcona Mine.

12 A Yes.

13 Q Let me ask you a little
14 about your knowledge of its use of liquor. First of
15 all, do you know if liquor is to be provided to the
16 workers of that mine?

17 A When I last heard, which
18 was in the spring of this year, liquor was not being
19 provided. There was no liquor outlet at the mine yet.
20 Liquor was a central issue at that mine, from 1974,
21 late '73 and early '74 onwards. The fear that the
22 community felt about the mine tended to return again
23 and again to the question of liquor. When they began to
24 oppose the mine outright, which was, I think in '74,
25 they opposed it by saying, we do not want to be debauched
26 essentially with liquor and prostitution and rough-neck
27 white workers. That was their view, that was the community
28 council view and the wrote to the Department of Indian
29 Affairs and to the Territorial government expressing
30 that view very cogently.

I should also perhaps mention that associated with the liquor problem was the road problem. At first the understanding was that Arctic Bay community and the minesite would be merged into

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross Exam by Goudae

1 a single town. This was opposed very vigorously indeed
2 by Arctic Bay community council, after a year or so
3 of reflecting on it and then it was thought that they
4 would have a road linking the mine with the community
5 and the Arctic Bay community council opposed that with
6 equal vigour, they did not want a road, though they
7 were aware that if there wasn't a road there was a
8 problem of getting to work and getting back to work
9 and if there wasn't a road they might be forced to
10 bunk in the minesite and only come home on weekends
11 or travel by skidoos, which in fact is what they do
12 now, by boat.

13 The road was regarded as the
14 route along which liquor and other evil influences
15 would travel, and in the end it was decided, as I under-
16 stand it, and again this may have been changed since
17 -- subsequently, that there would be a road from
18 Arctic Bay to the airstrip, the big airstrip which would
19 service the mine, the Arctic Bay airstrip wasn't big
20 enough and could not be extended sufficiently, and
21 there would be a road from the mine, obviously, to
22 the airstrip too. So, with these two roads effectively
23 the channel was completed from Arctic Bay community
24 to the minesite, so once again they were not able
25 to secure their expressed wish, once negotiations
26 were underway.

27 Q Now, finally Mr. Brody,
28 I understand that you've done some sociological work
29 on Ireland, is that correct?

30 A That is correct, yes.

Peakhurst, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

Q And that work, in that work, you refer to the emergence of what you call the new entrepreneur.

A Yes.

Q Before going on, could you briefly explain to us what you mean by that?

A Yes.

THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me, where did you do this work?

A In the west of Ireland.

Q Oh, right.

A Small communities of the west of Ireland.

I should explain, the situation in those villages is in some ways analogous to the situation that faces us in the north and that is small communities whose traditional, or what they regarded as their traditional --

Q Fishing villages, is that it?

A Sorry?

Q Fishing villages, is that it?

A They're both fishing and farming villages.

Q Right.

A Different mixes.

What they regard as their traditional life is being eroded by social and economic forces that are largely outside their control, and they're

1 very deeply demoralized and their communities are much
2 more deeply demoralized than any community I know in the
3 north. I haven't been to the one that is supposed to
4 be the most demoralized one. You have degrees of
5 retreatism there that after which, I haven't seen
6 documented anywhere else. Degrees of social isolation,
7 sexual confusion, such like, the likes of which I've
8 not seen anywhere else either.

9 In these communities, however,
10 since the onset of the worst of these phenomena, there
11 have emerged extraordinarily strong businessmen. You
12 see, business families led normally by one very competent
13 and very aggressive entrepreneur and because of the
14 general social situation in the communities, they have
15 taken an extraordinary grip on the whole society and
16 economy. In other words, they control all the key
17 outlets. They control the shop, the bar, taxi service,
18 for example, in communities where there's no buses
19 where it's 12 miles and one can't --

20 They controlled services like
21 taking people to dances, picking people up from airports
22 extending the taxi service. I won't go on, but you
23 can imagine the long list and they also control the
24 local political scene and in some cases even the national
25 one, insofar as it's relevant.

26 Now that -- these entrepreneurs
27 are an amazing phenomenon. In some cases they come
28 from within the society and they're local boys as it
29 were, who, for reasons that I've never been able to
30 understand, have a completely different view of the

world and recognize their potential for profit
control lies within these kinds of communities
and in some cases they come from outside. There's
long history of this in Ireland, of course, in some
parts, you know, going back to the British.

I assume what you're into
in is the possible similarity between that and the
north.

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Breakfast, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 Q Yes, the analogy is
2 there, if any.

3 A Well, I'm inclined to
4 think they're quite strong ones. I think in the case
5 of the north it's most ^{often} in my experience outsiders
6 -- whites who often come up, short-term workers,
7 often people who come to work for the government or
8 some similar agency, who have been in the settlement
9 for a time, recognize their opportunity for making
10 themselves ^{into} successful entrepreneurs and have taken
11 advantage -- I think that's the right expression --
12 have taken advantage of the inability of local people
13 to combat or even compete with the
14 entrepreneurial effectiveness, and aggression of these
15 outsiders, of such outsiders.

16 So the analogy could be
17 spelled out, I suppose, by looking at things like
18 stores, which are not Hudson's Bay Company, taxi
19 services similarly, the agency for the airlines that
20 service the communities as a control of crucial
21 information, delivery for moving freight about,
22 contract for doing some building work in the communities
23 and such like. Now, it seems to me that the background
24 against which such men are in a position to do extreme-
25 ly well is one of local demoralization and retreatism
26 and uncertainty, whereas in some cases it's just
27 relative ignorance in respect of information
28 about the entrepreneurial world.

29 I don't want to pursue the
30 analogy too far, I think it's there and

D. ALFRED C. TUBERT, Presiding
CROSS-Exam by Goudge

1 it is one menace that exists within the present
2 northern situation that could well become what I
3 regard as a menace anyway, but could well become
4 very widespread and very demoralizing at the secondary
5 or tertiary stage to the indigenous people.

6 Q I take it, though, you
7 see no reason why, among the new entrepreneurial
8 class, if the analogy is apt, that one wouldn't find
9 native northerners as well as outsiders.

10 A I think, because of the
11 ethnic problem in the north, the analogy isn't so
12 apt on that particular point. It is more likely that
13 it will be white outsiders, I think.

14 WITNESS USHER: Can I comment
15 on that?

16 THE COMMISSIONER: The people
17 who live in these villages are of Celtic origin, I
18 take it, and if the entrepreneurs are not local boys,
19 as you say, who are they -- English? Or what?

20 WITNESS BRODY: In the
21 majority of cases I think I said they are of local
22 origin. In the minority of cases where they are not,
23 they come from the town as opposed to the countryside.

24 Q But they'd still be
25 Irish or Celtic in origin?

26 A Yes, there it's a class.

27 Q Yes. I can see the
28 point you're making.

29 A In the north, of course,
30 it's the ethnic difference. But some of the things

Beakbust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 are very similar like educational level, understanding
2 how to control information, how to have access to
3 cheap goods and services.

4 MR. GOUDGE: Dr. Usher, you
5 wanted to add something?

6 WITNESS USHER: Yes. What I
7 wanted to comment on, I was trying to look ahead a bit
8 and see where the process that Brody describes is going.
9 I think certainly the difference now, if one looks,
10 say, at the Western Arctic, is that the entrepreneurial
11 element in the small communities is, of course, from
12 outside and therefore you have an ethnic based kind
13 of class division which is different than what's being
14 described for Ireland. But if you look ahead and see
15 what's liable to happen in 10 or 15 years down the
16 road, there is certainly an encouragement b y, I think,
17 both private interests and the Federal Government, to
18 promote free enter-- the entrepreneurial skills in
19 enterprise and so on on the part of native people.
20 A lot of native people have expressed interest in
21 that. You know, they'd like to get on with the idea
22 of small businesses and so on, and I think if we look
23 at the consequences of that, where in terms of a commun-
24 ity's sense of unity and what's happening in the
25 community is that when there is a native entrepreneur-
26 ial element that that will create, perhaps, the same
27 kinds of division and perhaps demoralization in the
28 community that has been described for Ireland, because
29 there won't be then -- it's not a sort of "us" and
30 "them" kind of situation, that the people who are in

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 the powerful positions are of the same ethnic group,
2 and therefore will create a rather different situation,
3 perhaps one such as is described for Ireland.
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Beakbust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 Q Would you agree with
2 that?

3 A I am not suggesting that
4 people, you know -- what the choices are to be.
5 I am simply looking at the implications of people
6 going that route.

7 Q Do you tend to agree
8 with that Mr. Brody?

9 WITNESS BRODY: Yes, I do.

10 MR. GOUDGE: Thank you very
11 much gentlemen. Those are all the questions I have sir.

12 THE COMMISSIONER: I have
13 some questions that I noted down yesterday, but I can't
14 find them. I think they are up in my room. So just
15 wait a moment and I will come back. What's the time?

16 MR. GOUDGE: It may be coffee
17 time sir. It's 11:15.

18 THE COMMISSIONER: All right.
19 Well then I will ask them after coffee. Then we can
20 have the next -- you are the next panel, are you Dr.
21 Brody?

22 A YES.

23 THE COMMISSIONER: Well that's
24 fine.

25 MR. GOUDGE: He's it.

26 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR A FEW MINUTES)

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Heathland, Valley, Brook
Cross-Exam by Goudge

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

MR. BAYLY: Mr. Commissioner,
Dr. Usher mentioned during the coffee break that he
has some comments on a question that had been asked
earlier on land use regulations that he'd like to share
with the Commission.

THE COMMISSIONER: All right.
Go ahead.

WITNESS USHER: Yes. I was
thinking about the question that Mr. Goudge asked me
about some of the institutional problems of land use
planning. I am brought to mind of a discussion that
I think we had here a couple of weeks ago. I think
you may have raised it about the enormous bureaucracy
required to administer the James Bay settlement.

I think that also would have
to be looked at pretty carefully in this whole problem
of land use planning and administration. There is
an enormous area of land up here. This is -- the
problem it seems to me with the fast paced pressure
of development. That that, regardless of who controls
the resource itself if that pressure is on and is
unrelieved, then whoever controls it must necessarily
have a pretty large bureaucracy to deal with it because
there is so many decisions to be made so fast about
so many things that there is an enormous amount of
expertise required.

What worries me about that
is that regardless of who has the ownership and nominal
control of that situation, it is liable to get away

Deakhus, Usher, Brady
CROSS EXAM BY COUNSEL

1 on them. I don't think that it is a simple matter of
2 saying, "Well, these people own the land and they can
3 hire who they and they can control their experts" or
4 whatever. If you have got more experts than people,
5 you can have a hard time controlling them.

6 I see that as a very real problem
7 and I am not sure what the answer to that is other
8 than a vastly decreased pace of development.

9 The other thing is and I
10 think it relates to what has been mentioned already
11 on this panel, is it is by no means clear that a simply
12 numerical majority on some kind of a planning board
13 really gives you the kind of effective control that
14 you need. Any kind of joint commission involving
15 let's say government, industry and native people,
16 well I don't know if numerical parity or majority on
17 those things are really entirely satisfactory without
18 a number of other things happening.

19 That's just some thoughts
20 anyway.

21 Q Right. Well, after going
22 upstairs and getting my notes, I find that it's --
23 you know, when you wake up in the middle of the night
24 and write something down and you get up in the morning
25 and can't wait to look it, it turns out to be unintellig-
26 ible.

27 I was going to ask you Dr.
28 Usher, and I am -- Dr. Hobart referred in one of his
29 presentations to a view you expressed in 1965 about
30 the Inuit population. I don't seek in any way to

Peakbust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 embarrass you but I am -- it's remarable in a way
2 that you would hold the views that you do today,
3 having held views that many would regard as quite
4 opposed in 1965. I have got two or three things I'd
5 like you to comment on. I am thinking of your version
6 of the seedy house solution to the Inuit situation.

7 You felt that the population
8 was demoralized, that their life on the land was
9 dying and you saw nothing wrong with the proposal
10 to remove them to southern Canada. All I saw was the
11 paraqraph cited by Dr. Hobart. So maybe I am not
12 being fair to you or to your views. But was that a
13 view widely held among professionals? I mean geograph-
14 ers, sociologists, anthropologists, government people
15 in those days. That's the first thing.

16 I think even then many people
17 would have thought, "Gosh that is a pretty drastic
18 kind of solution". Another thing I would be curious
19 to know is whether Inuit people themselves shared that
20 view at all.

21 Maybe I could also ask you
22 what led you to change your mind. You insist with a
23 good deal of evidence to support you and Dr. Hobart
24 does not disagree, that the bush economy is in a sense
25 thriving today. What was the state of the bush economy
26 in 1965 compared to today, if that had anything to do
27 with ^{the}alteration in your views.

28 Anyway, if you wouldn't mind
29 commenting on those things because the transition
30 in your own view might be significant.

Beakhuist, Usher, Brody

Cross-Exam by Goudge

A Okay, certainly.

Q In more than a personal sense.

A Well, as I tried to

1 suggest yesterday, there was, I think, a dominant
2 sort of view in the social sciences^{and}/in administration
3 in the early and mid-'60s. I first started working
4 for Indian Affairs in '62 as a summer student on
5 these area economic surveys, and that was my sort of
6 initiation in the north, was looking at in various
7 places in the Western Arctic, what the local economy
8 was like at that time, and it was, I would say, not
9 in as good shape as it is now. As I suggested, that
10 was fairly shortly after people had been in effect
11 herded into the communities, that they hadn't been
12 able to make the adjustment to the more effective land
13 use given that change, that there was this tremendous
14 problem of capitalization. The fur trade was still,
15 even in the early '60s, had -- well, there was a bit
16 of an upturn for a couple of years about 1960 in
17 fox prices, but basically the traditional economy,
18 at least the capitalization of it was still very much
19 a problem in the early '60s when I first came to the
20 north. I think we really -- well, there were attempts
21 at the time, in fact the projects that I worked on
22 to start with, represented some small attempt and in
23 fact one of the witnesses we will be calling whenever
24 he gets here is my first boss on that who ran the
25 Industrial Division of Indian Affairs, which was this
26 small unit in the department which did actively try
27 and engage in the revitalization of the traditional
28 economy.
29
30

Now, I won't say everything

Beakhurst, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 that they tried to do was dead on, and I don't suppose
2 Don will either. In retrospect we can look back and
3 see what went wrong with that and how it might be
4 improved, and I hope he will talk about that fairly
5 extensively.

6 What we tried to do then was
7 make some assessment of what resources were there and
8 perhaps see about new means of harvesting them, new
9 means of processing them and so on. The options at
10 that time seemed fairly limited. I think in our percep-
11 tion more limited than those alternatives needed to
12 be. There were a lot of obstacles to overcome in
13 realizing those alternatives, and I think -- I don't
14 know exactly how to describe this. When I think of
15 my experience in that many years, I realize that
16 a lot of things that we took for granted in the
17 early '60s as being, "Well, that's the way life is
18 and those obstacles can't be overcome," a lot of us
19 think now, "Why shouldn't they be? There's no reason
20 for those obstacles not to be overcome."

21 That, I think, is a kind of
22 general change in social thought in our own society --
23 my own society. Native people's perception of these
24 resources hasn't changed, but ours certainly is
25 beginning to, and the statement that I made in that
26 report which was dated 1965, but based on my
27 experience in 1963, I think, has to be seen in the
28 perspective of someone who was, I don't know, 22 years
29 old at the time and was just starting in grad studies
30 with two summers in the north, accepting the dominant

Beakhusht, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 views that were held both in the social sciences where
2 I was going to university, and in the administration
3 where I was working in the summer. So, you know,
4 that was the philosophy I was imbued with, and 12
5 years of experience since then have, you know, made
6 me rethink that, and believe that we weren't dead on
7 at the time. I mean some pretty respectable people
8 were saying that, Diamond Jenesse, who certainly -- I
9 mean quite an extraordinary man who very deeply held
10 that view that there was no possibility for native
11 people to get along in the north as he saw it at that
12 time. There's an interesting thing about the change
13 in philosophy there, is that when I joined the
14 department in '67, I think, as I remember it, there
15 was some discussion at the time about programs of
16 sort of induced emigration, the industrial getting
17 people into the industrial labor force down south, not
18 only in places like Rankin and Yellowknife, but also
19 at Lynn Lake, Great Slave Lake Railway, and so on there
20 were a number of projects in which there were these
21 sort of experimental -- in fact I think there were
22 some brought out to, Mrs. Meldrum in the audience there
23 will be able to back me up on this because we were
24 all doing this at the same time, but people brought
25 out to Guelph for apprenticeship programs and so on,
26 and this was in fact taken up, I remember the A.D.M.
27 at that time -- oh, I don't remember, it must be
28 the northern program, but it went through so many
29 changes -- at any rate responsible for northern adminis-
30 tration. I remember we had some meetings on this and

Memorandum, Policy, Ministry
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 that was the department for a brief period in about
2 '68-'69, I would say, it was '68 maybe, was quite
3 interested in this as a real possibility for native
4 people.

5 Now I think one of the reasons
6 that that got dropped (and I'm not 100% sure about
7 this but I suspect one of the reasons that it got
8 dropped fairly suddenly) was that that's around the
9 time that the responsibilities, some responsibilities
10 for the north shifted from Ottawa to Yellowknife.

11 Well, when you're sitting
12 in Ottawa you can talk about moving people out of
13 the Territories, but when you become the Government
14 in Yellowknife, it becomes a little more difficult
15 politically to talk about exporting your own
16 population. So I think that's certainly one reason
17 that this idea was dropped. But it remained pretty
18 dominant in departmental thinking.

19 I can remember one moderately
20 senior official who one morning when he found out
21 that -- you see, Eskimo Point was one of the great
22 problem areas. We used to think, "We have to get
23 people out of Eskimo Point, this place is a disaster.
24 How can we get people out of Eskimo Point?"

25 One morning some report came
26 in that in the intervening months, 40 people had
27 actually moved into Eskimo Point. This man was virt-
28 ually tearing his hair out asking, "Why? My God,
29 why would they move into Eskimo Point?"

30 I mentioned before the sort of

sensibilities that people have about I think a couple of points in my evidence about the way people perceive the north, people who are responsible for making decisions and policy and so on, and there's a great deal of ordinary everyday northern life which is, as I say in my experience in government, truly distasteful to these people. It's not their fault, you know, they have a totally different experience. There's a tremendous gulf and they really feel that somehow the most beneficial thing is to -- this idea of bringing people out, saving them, in effect, from native life.

I think also there's quite a different perception now, or there could be quite a difference in this whole population -resources balance thing. The perspectives that we looked at in the early '60s of saying, "Well, there's so many resources and there's so many people," and you count the two up and how do they balance?

I hope that answers the question.

1 Q Right. It led into something
2 else that you discussed in your paper. I'd like to
3 ask Dr. Brody what he thinks. The view has been expressed
4 many times at these hearings that the fish and game
5 resources of the north are not sufficient to sustain
6 its native populations which are expanding rapidly and
7 putting to one side the question of whether young
8 native people prefer to live off the land or whether
9 they have the skills, indeed to do so or not, would
10 you comment on this general statement that while the
11 population has expanded to the point where they could
12 not, in any event, live off the land?

13 WITNESS BRODY: I think the
14 starting point of this, and a comment on that is, some
15 straight forward account of what aboriginal population
16 was and what its food needs were. It's clear that
17 throughout the north, population is now a good deal
18 lower than it was at contact in some areas it's around
19 50 percent and some areas around 75 percent of contact
20 population. That's the human being. If you add to the
21 human beings, that contact to the dogs that were also
22 being fed on, in most areas, exactly the same foods,
23 then the land at that time was clearly able to support
24 a lot more mouths than it has had to support ever
25 since and certainly than it has to support today.

26 So, the only way in which
27 you could secure the argument that the land cannot
28 support the population on it would be by pointing
29 to serious declines in the resource itself, in the
30 animal populations, fish populations, the like. As I

1 understand it, and this is only from the reading of
2 the literature. As I understand it, the animal popula-
3 tions are in pretty good shape with the exception of
4 the walrus and with the exception of the baleen whale,
5 which is of marginal importance, of course.

6 So, I think my answer is that
7 you can be fairly sure that the land could, if it
8 were harvested, support a much larger population than
9 it is now supporting, even if that population were
10 living entirely on country foods and even, I suspect
11 if that population were feeding dog teams, though those
12 comments would really need to be qualified and
13 sophisticated by virtue of regional variation and
14 such like. But that's my general response to that
15 point of view.

16 WITNESS USHER: Could I
17 make one comment on that as far as the western Arctic
18 is concerned? If I could describe what seems to me
19 a general trend over the 20th century in animal popula-
20 tions in the western Arctic, especially musk oxen and
21 caribou, which are the chief sources of food for many
22 people, or were. That in the whaling era there was
23 tremendous over-harvesting of both those species for
24 the use of the whalers. There was a trade in meat
25 before there was a trade in furs in the western Arctic
26 and that over a long period --

27 Q Mr. Martel discussed that
28 at length at Inuvik.

29 A Yes, that's right, yes.
30 They seem to have come back in both those populations,

1 very significantly and I would say, even in the time
2 between, well, that I mentioned before, when they were
3 first doing these surveys and now there seems to have
4 been tremendous recovering in some of these populations
5 which again alters this population resources balance.

6 WITNESS BRODY: Yes. I think
7 it's also worth adding to that that the land use occupancy
8 evidence included lots of accounts of population
9 cycles by older Inuit throughout the north and they
10 talk about 30 and 40 year cycles for caribou and they
11 say that now the caribou are quite close to the top
12 of their cycle so there are caribou now moving into
13 areas where caribou have not been seen for 30 or 40
14 years so it's very hard to make any final statement
15 about this.

16 Q Oh yes, I understand that.
17 I think that there was evidence that the blue nose
18 herd was expanding westward into the delta again, after
19 perhaps a 30 or 40 year absence. Okay. One other
20 thing that I'd like you to comment on. There have been
21 these experiments in bringing native people south,
22 the Great Slave Railroad. No one seems to be able to
23 tell me what happened to the Inuit who were working
24 on that railroad at the beginning.

25 A There is a report on this,
26 written by Stevenson, who was at that time teaching
27 I think, at the University of Victoria, I think, which
28 was commissioned, was done on contract at the Department
29 of Indian and Northern Affairs. I can't remember what
30 the group was called, it's what subsequently became the

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross Exam by Goudie

1 Northern Science Research Group, and he was an anthro-
2 pologist who spoke Eskimo because he had been a trader.
3 He'd been the manager of a store in Baffin, so he
4 visited the Inuit families working on that railway. I
5 can't remember the year, '69 I think or '68.

6 WITNESS USHER: The report
7 was published in '68.

8 WITNESS BRODY: '68. He
9 visited many of the families working on that railway,
10 the relocated families, speaking the language and
11 went knocking on the doors and it was a big difference
12 and his view was that they were having difficulties
13 about adjustment as families, as I remember. It's a
14 long time since I read this because I remember they
15 were having difficulties about adjustment as families
16 and the men who were there without families were
17 particularly unhappy. I can't remember what the final
18 conclusion was of that, do you remember Peter?
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1 WITNESS USHER: Well there
2 were supposed to be two parts to that report and I
3 don't know that the second part ever came in because
4 the report that was -- the first report was published
5 before everybody moved off the Great Slave Lake.
6 In other words, that report was in the middle of the
7 project. There in fact was no final published report.

8 The only thing I can add to
9 that is that two or three families that I knew very
10 well from Sachs Harbour who had gone down to work on
11 that railway -- I think they stayed a couple of years.
12 But in the end they -- it was partly a -- and they went
13 with their families.

14 In fact, I know in one case,
15 it was all right for the man who was working but his
16 family really didn't like it. They felt so isolated
17 and alone and away from their relatives and so on.
18 In the end they both came back and they are glad they
19 did. They don't have -- well it was an experience
20 but not one they would go through again.

21 WITNESS BRODY: There is a
22 body of knowledge about the relocation of younger people
23 to schools which I don't think has every been assembled
24 into a volume of any kind but there are lots of
25 individual civil servants in the Department of Indian
26 Affairs who have had a great deal of experience with
27 this with whom it might be worth your while to talk.
28 They have very interesting accounts of the difficulties
29 of adjustment of younger people, particularly to school
30 and training programs in Ottawa, Guelph and other

Beakbust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 places.

2 Q Well that leads into
3 another matter. Is it true to say that out-migration
4 of native people from the Arctic and the sub-Arctic
5 that is, to the south is virtually nil?

6 A I think we should
7 be regional about this again. I can address myself
8 to how migration from the Arctic say Coppermine to the
9 east. There I think it is true to say it is virtually
10 nil with an important exception. That is, a lot of
11 the young persons like to go on visits to the south and
12 some older people too like to go to south, often for
13 quite long stays. What I mean by long stays, a month.

14 This isn't migration in the
15 sense which perhaps you are meaning it.

16 Q But also --

17 A With that sole
18 qualification, I think the evidence is remarkably
19 strongly in support of the view that there is no out-
20 migration. Indeed, those people who have tried it,
21 whom I have known, particularly young women who had
22 married say school teachers and then, because their
23 husbands have decided to change their jobs and have
24 gone along to the south have, in the majority of cases,
25 in my experience if not every case, come back either
26 alone or come back with their husbands. Even though
27 these are people who speak very good English and are
28 acculturated in a word. Out-migration is not a feature
29 of the eastern Arctic at any rate.

30 WITNESS USHER: I would back

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 that up pretty much for the western Arctic. There are
2 a few people who have moved down south and stayed there
3 but I think you could probably count them on your
4 fingers practically. I can think of a number more
5 who, even after spending years and years outside have
6 come back to the north.

7 WITNESS BRODY: When I worked
8 in Edmonton on the skid row there, there were of course
9 native people from the sub-Arctic especially from
10 the Mackenzie drainage area. We'll talk about this
11 later, today, I suspect. Their unease and unhappiness about
12 being in the south are the underlying features, general
13 feeling.

14 THE COMMISSIONER: All right.
15 Well thank you very much Mr. Beakhust and Dr. Usher
16 and Dr. Brody.

17 MR. GOUDGE: Before you excuse
18 them sir can I prevail on them for two more questions
19 which have arisen since the break. The first is
20 directed to you Mr. Brody and it is this.

21 In your evidence you describe
22 at some length the phenomenon of ilira as you call it.
23 That's on the one hand. On the other hand as I gather
24 from your responses earlier this morning, your view is
25 that your own contacts with native northerners do not
26 suffer from inaccuracy or misunderstanding. Is that
27 a discrepancy or is it something that can be explained?

28 A I think it's something
29 that -- I hope it's something that can be explained.
30 I, in a way, welcome the question. I think it's an

Beakhurst, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 opportunity to talk about two different kinds of field
2 work in the north and two different kinds of sociolo-
3 gical investigation and, in the end, two different
4 kinds of intellectual tradition in social inquiry.

5 On the one hand, there is the
6 questionnaire man who is concerned with providing
7 a data base that is computerizable perhaps. The
8 only in which such a data base can be assembled is by
9 asking a large number of people a large number of
10 questions and given the time considerations and given
11 some of the methodological assumptions behind that, this
12 is done with questionnaires, we all know quite
13 quickly.

14 On the other hand there is
15 the tradition of participant observation which affirms
16 the usefulness of spending a long time in a community
17 and learning the language and generally hanging around.
18 The way to avoid inspiring feelings of ilira is to
19 hang around for a very long time and to speak the
20 language. Those are two things. But that's rather
21 for that journalistic level. It can be expressed more
22 academically getting back to my point about two
23 different intellectual traditions by looking at the
24 idea of verification. The verification process in the
25 second of these traditions in the participant observa-
26 tion tradition consists primarily in getting an idea
27 of what is a consensus among a sector of the society
28 you are in and then digesting that idea, compressing
29 it perhaps into a few sentences and presenting it to
30 another member of the society who then might say, "Oh,

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 come on now. That's not really what we think". And
2 so on and so on. This is a process that takes as
3 long as you are there. It might take two years.

4 When it came to ilira and
5 whitesmy first view was very much the same as perhaps
6 Dr. Hobart might uphold or others -- other social
7 scientists because it's a consequence of the time
8 you spent and the way ⁱⁿ which you proceed and the way in
9 which you are perceived as an outsider.

10 Gradually after about a year
11 -- within the second ^{year} of persistent work, my abilities
12 to use their language improved. I found people saying
13 rather different kinds of things that surprised me;
14 the kinds of things which in fact I have been offering
15 here. Armed with these new accounts of what the
16 consensus was, I went to someone else and said, "you
17 know, it seems to me that" such and such, and such
18 and such. I found sort of -- in a school boy terms
19 a tick in the margin. People would verify it. It's
20 an amazing thing that. That's funny. Now why people
21 don't normally recognize that, that's interesting.
22 You know.

23 Then you would suddenly find
24 you would often have a whole floodgate of further
25 information on this score. Then it got -- say it was
26 doubly verified. Now, in the end, I end up after a
27 limited amount ^{of} time, after a limited ability with
28 their language, after a limited capacity as a field
29 worker with what I regard as verified propositions.
30 They are always vulnerable to falsification of course.

Beakhurst, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 Maybe the next time I go back to the north, I will
2 offer my new digest and someone will say, "Oh come
3 on." You've been here long enough/^{now} to have the truth, I
4 will tell you. It'll be different again.

5 It's an endless process.

6 There's ^{no} point at which I stop and I say, "Now
7 I know what the answer is". As every other scientist
8 in the world, you offer answers that have not yet been
9 falsified. The process of scientific investigation
10 if I can put it, it's most abstract is the search
11 for falsification. I've got these conclusions which
12 I do not think have been falsified.

13 I think, with all due respect,
14 that many of the conclusions that I have read in the
15 transcripts have been thoroughly falsified. I,
16 obviously, if I speak in good faith must offer ones
17 I think have not been falsified. That's all I can
18 say.

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Breakheart, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 MR. GOUDGE: Mrs. MacQuarrie
2 indicates that she would like to follow that up, sir,
3 and after she does that I have one more question of
4 Mr. Brody.

5
6 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MRS. MacQUARRIE:

7 Q Mr. Brody, I wonder if
8 you have some suggestions on what can be done in
9 order to improve communication between the native
10 people and the whites?

11 WITNESS BRODY: I suppose
12 implicitly in what I've been saying that
13 there are some very obvious ones. White people
14 should learn the language and work in the language of
15 the society where they live, just as in any other
16 case of travel or working abroad.
17 Essentially going north is working abroad, especially
18 since the vast majority of the society does not speak English. Step
19 No. 1 is to work in the language of the society that
20 you're in. That may help some way towards communi-
21 cation.

22 Another perhaps is to adopt
23 a general skepticism, a philosophical skepticism vis
24 a vis one's own intellectual and cultural heritage.
25 We are all armed with pre-conceptions, we're all
26 socialized, if you will, and it's very important that
27 we direct a scrutinizing and critical eye on our
28 own socialization at all times, and look particularly
29 at the kinds of ways in which we behave with others,
30 the kinds of signals that are put out, and so on and

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 so forth, and hope that you can adopt or learn signals
2 and ways of the society in which you are working.
3 That's the second one.

4 I suppose the third one is
5 to do with the overall purposes of the south in the
6 north, and we start to enter the area of what might
7 be a harder nut to crack.

8 Q There are many, many
9 people in the Northwest Territories who were born
10 here, they're white of course or a mixture, who have
11 spent the major part of their lives here or in fact
12 were born here. They believe that they communicate
13 very well with the people, their neighbor. They perhaps
14 don't separate them along the racial lines that you've
15 suggested, but they don't recognize that there really
16 is too much difference between themselves and the
17 Metis or Indian or Eskimo who happens to live
18 next door. Do you not suppose that they would have
19 perhaps a better understanding of what their lives are
20 all about than the social scientist who comes in
21 periodically and the people know will be gone on the
22 next flight and so perhaps for a lark give him all the
23 kinds of answers they think he wants to hear?

24 A Oh, I absolutely agree
25 with you. Yes, that could well be the case. I suspect
26 it very often is the case of the social scientist
27 who comes for a very short period, especially in the
28 first edition I mentioned earlier on when addressing
29 another question where questionnaires and such like
30 I found all kinds of things, indeed, many Inuit and

Beakhust, Usher, Brody..
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie
Cross-Exam by Goudge
kind of

1 Dene people have confided in me the stuff that they've
2 put out for fun, for a lark. Indeed, the very reason
3 for adopting or opting very strongly for the long-
4 term participant observation technique is to get
5 around that kind of dreadful difficulty. So I am in
6 complete agreement.

7
8 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GOUDGE (CONTINUED):

9 Q Finally, Mr. Brody,
10 let me ask you, if you would, please, to comment on
11 a view expressed to us last week by Dr. Hobart. He
12 was dealing at page 25129 of the transcript with
13 his view that associations between natives and whites
14 in the work force on an egalitarian basis was as
15 he put it, "something that was not only important
16 for native people to participate in, but also
17 beneficial,"

18 because as he says,

19 "the impact of this egalitarian association
20 with white fellow workers tends to show the
21 natives that he is as good a man as the
22 white and that he can master the white's
23 work and to a certain extent, his world."

24 He approaches that egalitarian relationship in the
25 work force from the point of view of sociological
26 benefits.

27 A Yes.

28 Q You, I take it,
29 approach that kind of contact on the basis that, as
30 you say, the frontier ethic which occurs at that

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 contact point is especially disruptive to native
2 people. Is that a fair anticipation of your reaction
3 to Dr. Hobart's position?

4 A Not quite. We had some
5 conversation about this yesterday so I'll recapitulate
6 it a bit. My view was that in general and very
7 crudely, I'm in some agreement with Dr. Hobart about this
8 that's the area where you find the best understanding
9 between whites -- between northerners and southerners
10 is at the shop -flow level, if you like. The pit-head level

11 However, I did introduce
12 yesterday what I think is a very important qualification
13 to this, and that is that on the whole they're not
14 actually egalitarian relationships. Just as in the
15 settlement the relationship is between the administra-
16 tor and the administered, at the work place it's often
17 between foremen and worker, both in skilled worker
18 and unskilled worker. Given the tendency towards
19 hierarchy at the work place, given the tendency towards
20 the native person being located at the very bottom
21 of the industrial scene, the industrial class, rather,
22 than to suggest somehow there is egalitarian --
23 an egalitarian condition, which I think ^{is} probably pretty
24 misleading.

25 Q Would you go this far,
26 that if it is an egalitarian relationship, it is
27 sociologically speaking beneficial?

28 A Yes. Actually, on my moral
29 and intellectual framework, that's a tautology in fact.
30

Breakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 If it's egalitarian, then it's sociologically beneficial,
2 yes.

3 Q And not subject to the
4 especially disruptive force that you see arriving
5 frequently historically when frontier whites meet
6 up against native culture?

7 A Well, perhaps I ought to
8 point to another way in which it's perhaps not as
9 egalitarian as it may seem. On the model which you're
10 referring to now, the frontiersman, the white worker,
11 the free-wheeling type who has attachments to profit
12 rather than to place, to adventure and work rather
13 than to family or homeland, occupies or has a very
14 different view of the land from the person he's working
15 with who may be not there because he wants to be but because of
16 adventure, because there's a great opportunity to be
17 away from the home and the family, but because he
18 has to be. In other words, there's an inequality which con-
19 sists in the one being there because they want to be,
20 and the other being there because they have to be,
21 because they feel they've got no choice. With that very important
22 qualification then let me go along with what you are
23 saying.
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Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Goudge

MR. GOUDGE:

Q Thank you very much, those
are all the questions I have.

THE COMMISSIONER: I think it
might be important to point out something that in this
Inquiry we have been considering the views of white
northerners who have told the Inquiry what they believe
the native people think, what the native people want,
what the aspirations of the native people are and we've
listened to sociologists and anthropologists, all of
them white, telling us what the native people think and
what the native people believe, what their hopes and
aspirations are. I think that the views of both of
these groups have to be taken into account, but the
most important opinions are those expressed to this
Inquiry by the native peoples themselves at the community
hearings, that's why we held those hearings, so that
Indian, Metis and Inuit people could tell me what they
thought, what they believed, so that they could speak
for themselves, and I want it understood that though
the opinions of white northerners who've told me what
they think the native people want are important and
though the views of social scientists who've told
me what the native people want are important, the most
important opinions of all are those expressed at the
community hearings by the native peoples themselves.
That I hope is self-evident, but I want to make that
point again. That's why those hearings were held, so
that we would know, at last, what the native people
thought and what they had to say for themselves.

Okay, well, I think this panel

H. Brody
In Chief

1 is ready to be disassembled and then we'll hear from
2 you right now, Dr. Brody, if you've got that next
3 paper ready, is that all right, Mr. Goudge?

4 MR. GOUDGE: Yes sir, that's
5 what we proposed.

6 (WITNESSES ASIDE)
7 THE COMMISSIONER: How is the
8 time, by the way?

9 MR. GOUDGE: The time's about
10 12:10 and the paper is some 30 pages long.

11 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, should
12 we begin it now?

13 MR. GOUDGE: If it suits you
14 sir. What time would you like to break for lunch?

15 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, we'll
16 break at 12:25.

17 MR. GOUDGE: I should make
18 it clear sir, that as was said earlier, Mr. Brody, in
19 delivering this piece of evidence, which we circulated
20 to the participants some time ago, is appearing as
21 our witness, he's been sworn obviously and his paper
22 is filed.

23 HUGH BRODY, resumed:
24 DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. GOUDGE:

25 Q Mr. Brody, this
26 paper deals with alcohol and some of your views on
27 it and research with it and would you be good enough
28 please to simply begin and read the paper to us?

29 WITNESS BRODY: Perhaps I
30 could be allowed one very brief introductory remark.

Q By all means, I'm sorry.

A That is, that this is a

H. Brody
L. C. 101

1 paper essentially of a theoretical nature and it was
2 written against my wishes or my emotional inclinations
3 because it is a subject that inspires great passion,
4 but after reading the transcripts of the community
5 hearings it seemed redundant to go into what I felt
6 was awful about the alcohol situation and suitable that
7 I should rest myself at a fairly high theoretical level
8 to the whole matter.

9 THE COMMISSIONER: Okay.

10 A Alcohol and other drugs
11 were used in many parts of the Americas before European
12 conquest and settlement. But, in the case of alcohol
13 there is a strong correlation between its use and
14 the practice of agriculture.

15 The Indian groups that were
16 primarily agriculturalists manufactured alcohol and
17 in central and southern America, knew a great deal
18 about psychotropic and other drugs.

19 THE COMMISSIONER: Would you
20 define "psychotropic"?
21

22 A Drugs which aim at
23 affecting the state of consciousness.

24 All these --

25 Q And alcohol would fall
26 within that category?

27 A Yes.

28 Q Okay.

29 A All these substances
30 were used for medicine or religious and firmly institu-
tionalized social purposes. Beyond the spread of

H. Brody
In Chief

1 agriculture, paranormal psychological and emotional
2 conditions were not induced artificially. This means
3 that in northern north America, from the prairies to
4 the Arctic coastland, there was not a single aboriginal
5 culture where alcohol was used or even known.

6 This situation began to change
7 after European entry into New England and the spread
8 of Spanish culture into New Mexico and California.
9 As these newcomers and their cultures pushed north
10 and west, so alcohol began to be used by societies
11 where it had previously not been. Its use by non-
12 agricultural Indian groups however, was most directly
13 a result of the fur trade and whaling. Eskimos of
14 Hudson's Bay and east Baffin were given alcohol by
15 whalers during the 19th century. Fur traders used
16 alcohol to encourage Dene peoples to trade during
17 the late 18th century.

18 As the trading economy dis-
19 placed aboriginal modes of production, so use of
20 alcohol became a feature of north American native
21 life.

22 There are numerous accounts
23 of how alcohol was received by groups who had never
24 before used it. Out of these accounts grew a stereo-
25 type of native drinking. We are told of eruptions
26 of violence, chronic social disarray and mindless
27 disregard for all that all peoples are supposed to
28 hold sacred. Children are neglected, homes burned
29 down, friends are attacked. The most vivid of these
30 accounts come from the plains cultures, However, there

H. Brody
In Chief

1 are reasons for being very cautious about accepting
2 them at face value. Even if they are, sometimes true,
3 and no one can doubt the appalling distress that early
4 and heavy use of alcohol precipitated in some instances,
5 these stereotypes of Indian drinking can be a misleading
6 and even dangerous inheritance.

H. Brody
In Chief

1 We are encouraged to believe
2 the native peoples cannot handle drink and it is
3 especially bad for them for fundamental cultural or
4 even biological reasons. Such views imply that
5 pathological drinking is a consequence of Indianness,
6 whether that be culturally or genetically understood.
7 But we know that many, perhaps the majority of the
8 American Indian tribe, have been using alcohol or
9 other drugs for thousands of years. So as far back
10 as tribal histories can be traced, drugs have formed
11 an integral part of viable cultural traditions and
12 their use in this context could scarcely be termed
13 pathological.

14 The validity of the stereo-
15 type of the effects of alcohol on Indian and Eskimo
16 society is also called into question by the contra-
17 dictory nature of the evidence of explorers and adven-
18 turers who described giving alcohol to natives who
19 had never before used it. There are accounts of
20 violence and disarray in the plains. There are also,
21 however, reliable descriptions of Igloolik Eskimos
22 who, when given enough rum to "kill a European",
23 became drunk in an agreeable, non-violent manner and
24 recovered from the experience with a speed that
25 astonished the British Naval officers who witnessed
26 the experiment.

27 When Hudson's Bay Company
28 factors used alcohol to encourage Naskapis
29 to trade more often, they did not find that drinking
30 was associated with an especially high degree of

H. Brody
In Chief

1 social or individual chaos, despite the fact that the
2 Naskapis had at that time no culturally established
3 use of alcohol. They are a group of Indians who
4 live on the border of Arctic Quebec and Labrador and
5 traded --

6 THE COMMISSIONER: ON the
7 border of --

8 A Quebec.

9 Q Oh yes, right, and their
10 descendants are still there.

11 A Oh yes, indeed, on both
12 coasts. From this evidence it is clear that the
13 current stereotype ignores a wide range of variation
14 in the role of effects of alcohol in Indian and
15 Eskimo communities. If alcohol is becoming a chronic
16 problem in the north, then we must look for solutions
17 to that problem outside the fatalistic, often racist
18 picture of native drinking habits that has captured
19 the imagination of so many whites, both in and out
20 of the north.

21 A new picture must be
22 created with careful regard to changing historical
23 and sociological considerations. A brief look at
24 the use of alcohol in various societies throughout
25 the world shows that alcohol is used in a number of
26 quite different ways. These perhaps can be summarized
27 under three headings:

28 1. Novelty. The first use of alcohol by a society
29 that has no tradition of alcohol or drug use. This
30 phase is always very short-lived. Like most other

H. Brody
In Chief

1 cultural attributes, alcohol and other drugs quickly
2 find a place in the social system and thus fall into
3 the other two categories.

4 2. Functional. The use of alcohol for specific
5 social or individual purposes, not including religious
6 or ritual use, in a society already accustomed to
7 alcohol. Into this category fall secular societies
8 in which religious and spiritual life is limited or
9 has disappeared. Also included here is a society
10 where alcohol has been introduced as part of the
11 novelty category, but has not yet been integrated
12 into traditional institutions. The former group
13 includes Protestant Europe; the latter, most of the
14 hunting tribes of North America.

15 Q Excuse me. Let's just
16 go back a bit and make sure. Just give me a moment,
17 if you would.

18 A 3. Socially delimited.
19 The use of alcohol or drugs for special social,
20 religious, or other ritual purposes. Obvious examples
21 of this last category are various South American
22 Indian groups with certain drugs they use as prepara-
23 tion for warfare or group hunting expeditions, and as
24 an integral part of religious and spiritual life.
25 The most obvious example, perhaps, is the use of wine
26 in Jewish and Christian ritual. Occasionally a drug
27 moves from the novelty phase to the socially delimited
28 category. This has happened to peyote in its spread
29 north of the Mexico-U.S.A. border.

30 The difference between alcohol

H. Brody
In Chief

1 use in each of the three categories can be seen in
2 terms of the degree to which it is culturally defined
3 and socially constrained. At one extreme, the
4 socially delimited, all alcohol use is restricted by
5 custom. There are rules governing preparation, timing,
6 method of imbibing, and duration of use. These
7 rules extend to cover the activities of persons while
8 they are under the influence of the drugs. That is
9 to say, even drunken behaviour is even to a consider-
10 able degree governed by rules and therefore varies
11 from society to society.

12 Functional uses of alcohol
13 is also subject to rules, but they are much less
14 formal. In the case of novelty drinking, there are
15 no rules whatsoever.

16 Where does the northern scene
17 fit into this classification? And how does it help us cope
18 with questions about the effect of northern development?

19 The use of alcohol among
20 northern native peoples reveals considerable variation.
21 There are communities in the Eastern Arctic where
22 alcohol has become an issue only during the past
23 five years. A small number of communities receive
24 no alcohol at all. There are places where alcohol
25 was probably used more heavily 70 years ago than it is
26 today. In other places, alcohol use has become
27 the most disturbing of a number of social pathologies.

28 An elderly Eskimo woman once
asked me why the whites who make liquor had begun
29 putting different substances into it. 40 years ago,

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1 she said, people in her community got drunk and had
2 a good time, but nowadays they get drunk and become
3 violent. She wondered what new stuff was being put
4 in the drink.

5 Q What answer did you
6 give?

7 A I think I looked rather
8 long forward, I think.

9 From this seemingly rounded
10 pattern of alcohol use in the north, two constant
11 factors emerge:

12 1. Heavy use of alcohol and alcohol-associated disarray
13 have been spreading with epidemic-like speed throughout
14 the north.

15 2. The problems with which alcohol is associated in
16 native communities throughout North America are
17 strikingly similar, despite dissimilarities, to history,
18 and culture.

19 The vast majority of use
20 of alcohol in Dene and Inuit societies falls within
21 the second or functional category defined above.
22 Even those communities that have begun to use alcohol
23 in very recent times and may therefore seem to be of
24 the novelty type, are not newcomers to the idea of
25 drinking alcohol, and have a quite developed awareness
26 of its effect. The spread of information
27 within the north is as a result of improved communi-
28 cation, government work in educational fields, and
29 increasing mobility of labor to ensure that virtually
30 no native people have been able to remain beyond the
alcohol frontier.

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1 At least there are in every
2 community young persons who have a clear idea about
3 the advantages and disadvantages of alcohol and drug
4 use. In most communities, such ideas are held by
5 members of older generations also. This means, that
6 alcohol has begun to have a definite function or place
7 in northern settlements. It is therefore important
8 to look for the social and economic conditions that
9 are shared by so many native people and which indicate
10 the function or place of alcohol in their societies.

11 The first important common
12 denominator to alcohol use in Dene and Inuit society
13 is a strong preference for spree drinking. In villages
14 where there is no liquor outlet, almost all alcohol
15 is mail ordered from regional centers. Since freight
16 costs are high, drinkers prefer to order in comparatively
17 large quantities, sometimes clubbing together to buy
18 several cases with a single order. This means that
19 fairly large amounts of liquor arrive at one time,
20 usually once or twice each month.

21 Upon its arrival, the liquor
22 is usually drunk in protracted session which continue
23 until no more drink is left. Much the same pattern
24 is followed in communities where there is a liquor
25 outlet with drinkers tending to drink as long as their
26 time or money supply or consciousness last. This
27 kind of drinking is documented from reserves across
28 Canada and the U.S.A. as well in Greenland. It is
29 also the basic drinking mode of skid row communities
in Canadian cities.

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1 A second important shared
2 phenomenon is the quality of drunkenness itself. The
3 middle-class North American regards alcohol as potential-
4 ly very dangerous. Although we use it, and often
5 quite heavily, we feel an undercurrent of uneasiness.
6 It might, if we are not careful, get in the way of
7 our work or interfere with family life or spoil friend-
8 ships. We also feel a lurking guilt. More than a
9 limited use of alcohol is perhaps wicked and drunkenness
10 is a collaboration with the forces of evil.

11 Many Euro-Canadians talk
12 about hangovers as if they were retribution for evil.
13 Most talk about being drunk in a way that suggests
14 shame and remorse or induce a false bravado that helps
15 us to break the rules.

16 Native drinkers experience
17 very few of these feelings. They do not feel the
18 same fear nor the guilt. Their language for describing
19 drunkenness is remarkably from ours. They do not make
20 the same association between a hangover and deserved
21 punishment. An Indian is likely to say "I got good and
22 drunk last night", whereas, a white is more likely
23 to say, either with remorse "I got horribly drunk last
24 night", or with clear aggression, "I got so god-damned
25 drunk".

26 This aggression reveals the
27 need to overcome a sense of guilt or anxiety about
28 violating a moral or social rule. The difference
29 between the native and white attitudes toward drinking
30 reveals itself in the nature of their drunken behavior.

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1 The guilty drunk is tense and slow to show the effects
2 of alcohol. The joyous drunk is quick to show the
3 effects and tries as hard as possible to keep the
4 effects alive. One consequence of this difference
5 is that social scientists, being members of the Euro-
6 Canadian middle-class, are not well placed to interpret
7 the use of alcohol by native peoples. They are too
8 apt to see it through their own guilty eyes as abuse of
9 alcohol.

10 The third unifying aspect of
11 alcohol use in the north lies in the kinds of social
12 difficulties^{to} which it often leads. A considerable
13 amount of evidence before this Commission has emphasized
14 the damage caused by drinking, especially as a result
15 of fights and accidents. Throughout the north, there
16 is a lurking fear among both white and those natives
17 who do not drink that drinking leads almost inevitably
18 to violence, including mindless fights among friends
19 and to an increasing incidence of wife-beating or
20 child neglect. Less conspicuous but no less a feature
21 of anxious accounts one can hear in northern communities
22 is a drunk's disregard for his neighbor's feelings.
23 Because many drunks wander from house to house, they
24 cause anxiety to those of their neighbors who do not
25 drink. Part of the results of this movement about the
26 community is the neglect of children who are sometimes
27 left at home to fend for themselves.

28 These are some symptoms we
29 say that confirm us in our tendency to see heavy
30 drinking as pathological, at least at the community

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1 level.

2 Obviously not all communities
3 in the north are afflicted with all of these difficul-
4 ties. I have already tried to point to the kinds of
5 variation that do occur but we must face squarely
6 up to the possible drift of things. In the past five
7 years, I have witnessed the change taking place in some
8 of the remotest settlements in Canada and have been
9 alarmed at the gradual but apparently remorseless move
10 towards heavier use of alcohol.

11 In the case of the community
12 I know best, it has taken only four years for some
13 of the older persons there to come to be afraid each
14 time a plane lands. It might be carrying another load
15 of booze from the Frobisher Bay Liquor Store. I have
16 had the worst experience of all. That of seeing men
17 and women whom I know well gradually become heavy
18 drinkers and find themselves afflicted with a whole
19 set of new social and family problems.

20 The move towards heavy alcohol
21 use is not necessarily very rapid nor is it an even
22 process. In the short run, there are ups and downs
23 in both individual and social drinking. Community
24 elders try to oppose some of the changes they fear
25 while changes in the community's or individuals economic
26 circumstances can affect the emerging pattern of
27 drinking. Yet, seen from a distance, judged on a time
28 scale of say five years, the drift of things is clear
29 enough. Seen for the N.W.T. as a whole on a ten or
30 15 year scale, it is profoundly alarming. We must be

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1 prepared to recognize that Inuit and Dene communities
2 could become skid rows in miniature.

3 MR. GOUDGE: Sorry
4 it's 12:25.

5 THE COMMISSIONER: Right.
6 Well, this is a convenient place for us to break in
7 your paper, so we'll adjourn till 2 o'clock.

8 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO 2:00)

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1 (PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

2 THE COMMISSIONER: Well,
3 we're all set ladies and gentlemen.

4 MR. GOUDGE: Yes sir, I think
5 we're prepared to have Mr. Brody resume.

6 A It's kind
7 of lonely up here.

8 THE COMMISSIONER: I think we
9 had reached the top of page 12. We might begin again
10 there. I think that was a logical break.

11 A I'll take it from the
12 last sentence of page 11 then.

13 Q Okay, right.

14 A We must be prepared to
15 recognize that Inuit and Dene communities could become
16 skid rows in miniature.

17 I use the term "skid row"
18 advisedly. The functions of heavy alcohol and other drug
19 use on a skid row are comparatively plain and relate
20 I shall argue, to a very specific socio-economic
21 condition. Once drinking is seen in relation to that
22 condition it is much easier to understand. There are
23 a number of similarities between the social and economic
24 predicament of Indians on skid rows and those of Indians
25 and Inuit who remain at home in northern communities.
26 If these similarities can be spelled out and the cir-
27 cumstances surrounding and causing them can be made
28 evident, then we might begin to be in a position
29 to explain the heavy use of alcohol in so many parts of
30 the north. More importantly, we will begin to be in

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1 a position to make predictions about the impact of
2 further northern development and to suggest some
3 workable alternatives.

4 For many native peoples,
5 to drink is, in effect, to participate in white or
6 southern culture. Because alcohol use has no established
7 tradition within northern native society, it is strongly
8 associated with outsiders and their way of life.

9 On the other hand, drinking with others emphasizes the
10 communities drinkers. The drinker, despite occasional
11 eruptions of violent discord, experience an increased
12 sense of unity as they become drunk together. The
13 importance of this sense of fellowship is revealed by
14 the extremely small number of northern natives who drink
15 alone. Indeed, there are men and women who like to drink
16 and who go to great lengths in order to find drinking
17 companions who would not drink if they were by themselves. Finding
18 drink and finding drinking companions are thus inseparable
19 activities. For this reason alone, we can see that
20 pathological alcoholism, which is so much a feature
21 of Euro-American society, is very remote indeed from
22 the kind of alcohol use among even the heavier drinkers
23 of northern native societies.

24 Drinking is social, it includes
25 some affirmation of the native society, despite the
26 fact that the alcohol itself is part of alien tradition
27 belonging to whites.

28 This affirmation of native
29 society is given additional weight by virtue of white
attitudes to Indian or Eskimo drinking. The stereotype

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1 of native drinking with its supposed pathological
2 nature, with the persistent idea that any drunkenness
3 among natives is a sign of breakdown. With repeated
4 allegations by whites that Indians cannot handle
5 alcohol, all these are familiar to native persons and
6 give a special intensity to their drinking.

7 When drinking parties are
8 underway, reference is often made to white notions
9 of such parties. When I participated in these parties
10 I was frequently taken to one side and asked whether
11 it was all right, and told that whites in the village
12 would be angry if they knew about the drinking that
13 went on, and was assured that it was safe.

14 Drinking within this moral
15 and social setting is thus highly paradoxical. On the
16 one hand it involves participation in southern culture.
17 On the other hand it takes place in defiance of southern
18 stereotypes and preferences. It is at one and the
19 same time an act of inclusion and exclusion of closeness
20 and distance. It is to participate in and yet to feel
21 rejection by the dominant society.

22 After spending five months
23 living in a skid row community, composed for the most
24 part, approximately 75 percent of Indians or Metis,
25 I came to the conclusion that skid row was best under-
26 stood as a resolution of some of the more difficult
27 problems by which native peoples are confronted. It
28 is a highly social community where outsiders find a
29 welcome and it is a community that has essentially
30 southern characteristics, alcohol, restaurants, hotels

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1 and an urban location.

2 Living on skid row, therefore
3 means living in a southern, partly modern way, but
4 skid row is dominated by native peoples, both in numbers
5 and in its style of community life. It is, with its
6 ready acceptance of newcomers and vigorous sociability,
7 very much the opposite of main stream southern life.

8 So it is that an Indian on
9 skid row can live at the very edge of southern culture,
10 close to employment opportunities and what he might
11 regard as the various benefits of city life, without
12 having to suffer the disadvantages that come with
13 more complete exposure to what many natives see as
14 the individualistic and racist society of main stream
15 southern Canadians. On skid row, a native person can
16 be in, but not of, the city.

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1 Here is an obvious and
2 important link between skid row drinking and the kind
3 of drinking that we find in small settlements in the
4 north. But there are links between the two that go
5 deeper and which will lead us into some answers to
6 the kinds of questions with which we are concerned
7 at this Inquiry. The issues become clearer if they
8 are approached through a consideration of the kinds
9 of reasons that we might give a person for not drinking.

10 When giving these reasons,
11 it must always be remembered that drinking is a very
12 considerable pleasure, at least to the persistent
13 drinker. The kind of drinking in which native peoples
14 engage is one of the most pleasurable types associated
15 with parties and holidays. It is a long way from the
16 compulsive and depressed drinking of the true
17 alcoholic. I have already drawn attention to the
18 guilt free nature of drinking among native people as
19 well as to the absence of established tradition or
20 ritual by which the use of drugs is often limited
21 in other societies.

22 In the Canadian north therefore
23 it is harder than in many places to find a plausible
24 answer to the question, why not drink? Answers amount
25 to giving reasons for renunciation of pleasure.

26 There are four kinds of answers.
27 In the first place, drinking is expensive and money
28 could be better used for improving the living conditions
29 of the drinker and his family. Moreover not only is
30 money on this argument being spent in a wrong way, but

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1 heavy drinkers cannot maintain steady employment, cannot
2 succeed in a career and therefore cannot earn effective-
3 ly.

4 In the second place, heavy
5 drinking is bad for the health. In the third place,
6 drinking results in the break-up of stable households
7 and the neglect of children. In the fourth place,
8 drinking, like other drug use, is morally doubtful.
9 A good person does not spend much of his time drinking.

10 How do these reasons for not
11 drinking sound to a Canadian native person? How do
12 they relate to his social and economic predicament?
13 The expense of drinking is relevant only if there are
14 desirable alternative ways of spending the drinking
15 money and only if the career advancement claimed to
16 arise from sobriety is in fact accessible to and
17 sought by the drinker. In reality, career and social
18 advancement comes so rarely to native workers that
19 it can be but a weak enticement. In any case, that
20 kind of advancement usually entails either moving
21 away from the place they prefer to live or doing the
22 kind of work they often prefer not to do or both.

23 It is perhaps more than a
24 little irrational to give up the pleasant activity with
25 an associated pleasant way of life for the remote chance
26 of social advancement in a job and/or a place that
27 brings a series of unpleasant consequences. Although
28 drinking may be unhealthy, southerners can hardly
29 claim that their own mainstream Canadian lifestyles
30 are conspicuously healthy. In any case, for many native

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1 drinkers, it is not the quantity so much as the style
2 of their drinking that differentiates them from non-
3 native drinkers. In fact, anxieties about ill health
4 are very often closely linked to moral considerations
5 and a strong inclination in our own society to see
6 heavy drug use as an offence against moral and social
7 propriety. Rival or unrespectable forms of life
8 usually strike the respectable as fraught with every
9 kind of danger. The Indian and Eskimo drinker is
10 aware of this confusion and is usually well able to
11 distinguish between the supposed spiritual and the
12 perceived physical effects of drinking. Thus, given
13 the conditions of northern native life, southerners
14 arguments against drinking can easily appear irrelevant
15 or downright irrational.

16 In our own society, it is
17 in fact primarily socio-economic realities that main-
18 tain drinking at a socially acceptable level. Many
19 heavy drinkers manage to avoid seriously compromising
20 their socio-economic position. They are able to do
21 this because they are in close touch with that
22 situation and quite rationally recognize the kinds of
23 disruption that its collapse would bring. Indeed,
24 individuals whose drinking drastically undermines their
25 material situation are the clinically recognizable
26 alcoholics.

27 Native peoples however, often
28 have no such clear link with their socio-economic
29 base. They can no longer look to their land for a
30 living, are not inclined or able to depend on wage

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1 labor and are dependent on the south and outside and
2 culturally remote place for houses, for essential
3 technology and many foods. This means that there
4 simply do not exist the same kinds of reasons for
5 being careful about anything including alcohol. What
6 I am suggesting here is a hypothesis that the way
7 and extent to which alcohol is used depends primarily
8 on a group's relationship to the means of production.

9 More precisely, the native
10 people of the north live under very special economic
11 and material conditions and the relationship between
12 these conditions and the North American society as a
13 whole is the guide to the alcohol problem. It is
14 also a window on a set of increasingly alarming
15 pathologies. The remainder of this paper focuses on
16 these relationships and uses them finally to make
17 suggestions and predictions.

18 Each of the main social
19 groups in our society workers, entrepreneurs, profession-
20 al and landlords has a more or less stable and well
21 defined place. Although there is mobility from ^{one} group
22 to another, the majority of us occupy one general
23 area for most of our lives.

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As a result, sociologists can talk about the traditions and conventions that tend to inform or even govern the modes of behaviour and thought within the various social groups that make up our society.

But there is one group that has no clear place in the web of social classes. These are the men and women who have neither land nor capital nor a persistent niche among those who sell their labor. They include drifters, the chronically unemployed or unemployable, and those who are excluded from mainstream social life by virtue of their culture or race.

In 19th century Europe there was a reserve army of labor. In the United States there are parts of the black community. In urban Canada there are Indians and Eskimos on Skid Row. Among these groups are concentrations of persons who live by petty crime, prostitution and occasional labor. They are the factors of society who live on the edges of the legal and the illegal. Some are there by virtue of individual pathology. But the vast majority are there by virtue of some objective circumstance over which they have little control. They have lost or never had their own economic order and therefore have no clear relationship to the socio-economic system in which they find themselves.

In the case of many native people, they have been separated from or are beginning to be separated from their resource base. In the

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1 case of northern native groups this began when
2 aboriginal society and economy was displaced by
3 primitive trading economy, that has in turn been
4 displaced by the new economic forces over most of
5 the market place.

6 Insofar as the land is not
7 or cannot provide a livelihood, the Dene and Inuit
8 are forced to shift their economic status from
9 owners or de facto use right owners of land, to
10 potential fellows of their labor. But there are a
11 number of obstacles in the way of this transition.
12 These include the fact that:

13 (1) Many of them prefer to live at least seasonally
14 off the land rather than as full-time workers;

15 (2) Most want to live in their own territory on
16 traditional land close to their extended family
17 networks;

18 (3) There are cultural traits that militate against
19 normal participation in wage labor, including seasonal
20 importance of hunting and fishing, and relative indif-
21 ference to the normal motives for industrial or other
22 southern routines;

23 (4) Educational levels exclude the vast majority from
24 any but the most menial of tasks, especially in the
25 case of women, and therefore the expectations of
26 advancement which non-natives take for granted tend
27 to be especially irrational from the native point of
28 view;

29 (5) Persistent racism in the larger societies have
30 meant and may well continue to mean that the work

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1 experience is unpleasant, work opportunities rather
2 poor, and the home community doubly attractive;
3 (6) By accepting wage labor as the basis for social
4 and economic right, many native groups feel that they
5 would thereby weaken or even altogether lose their
6 hold on their land and all that their land represents
7 in both material and cultural terms.

8 All these factors may not
9 affect all communities in the Canadian north, but some
10 are experienced by virtually every northern native.
11 They are the obstacles that get in the way of a
12 reliable or desired basis for life. They do much to
13 push Indians and Eskimos towards an uncertain relation-
14 ship to the economic system from where the crossroads
15 between wage labourer , land owner, and complete
16 resourcelessness.

17 Many of the forces in the
18 present-day north -- and I have dealt with some of them
19 in my other evidence -- are pushing northern natives
20 further and further towards this position. They are
21 being progressively separated from the economic and
22 social opportunities that they find meaningful, and
23 thus are being pushed towards ^{the} bottom rungs of the
24 class ladder. In sociological jargon, they are
25 being made into a part of the lumpenproletariat. The
26 sector of society that live from day to day, from
27 hand to mouth, and seek pleasures and money wherever
28 they might be found. The quality of this group's
29 moral life is, of course, a real enough affection
30 of their actual socio-economic plight.

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1 It is not possible to convince
 2 such persons that they should not drink. They have
 3 little or nothing to lose by spree drinking. Moreover,
 4 for many of them drinking takes place in the one
 5 corner of our society that is supportive, friendly and
 6 often prepared to share whatever money or goods
 7 come into its possession. At its most developed form,
 8 this is the Skid Row community to which so many native
 9 persons drift.

10 But in its less developed
 11 forms, it is ^{the} numerous drinking parties on reserves,
 12 in settlements and other native communities through-
 13 out the country. Insofar as the people who live in
 14 these communities are caused to experience ^{the} social and
 15 economic conditions of the lumpenproletarian, there
 16 will be more drinking and what is worse, and
 17 have a greater tendency for this drinking to be
 18 socially disruptive and a contribution to demoraliza-
 19 tion and social or family breakdown.

20 I need hardly tell any of
 21 those ^{with} experience in the Canadian north that such
 22 demoralization is proceeding with disturbing rapidity.
 23 Indeed, the Commissioner has been made aware, I suspect,
 24 of the prediction by many who work or live in the
 25 north that the drinking problem will continue to
 26 get worse and worse. Even in communities where there
 27 is no liquor outlet, the rate of increase in alcohol
 28 consumption can be extremely fast.

29 In Pond Inlet in 1972 it was
 30 unusual that two cases of liquor arrived in a single

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1 month. During 1973, there were some months when
2 15 cases arrived. In April of 1974, the peak in
3 recent years, 30 cases of hard liquor were landed
4 at Pond Inlet. This represents an increase from 2.2
5 ounces to approximately 30 ounces per adult per
6 month over a period of only three years.

1 This increase can be closely
2 linked perhaps to the first recruitment of Eskimo
3 workers by Pan Arctic Oil, whose contribution to the
4 local economy in 1973 to 4 was in excess of \$220,000.00.
5 These figures give some idea of the speed of which
6 changes in patterns of employment and alcohol use can
7 take place in modern northern communities.

8 It may, at first sight, appear
9 that the large increases in income --

10 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,
11 how many people are there in Pond Inlet?

12 A 530 I think.

13 It may at first sight appear
14 that the large increases in income, which are making
15 possible the large increases in alcohol use are in
16 themselves evidence of the native wage-earners move
17 towards a more substantial place in Canadian society.

18 In the language of the argu-
19 ment I'm offering in this paper, it might be thought
20 that these high wages signify a relationship to the
21 economic system that will offer greater security and
22 a mode of economic life that will provide an answer
23 to the question, "why not drink".

24 Unfortunately, this is not
25 necessarily so. In fact, the change is more complicated
26 than the income figures alone might suggest. Many of
27 the men who have worked for Pan Arctic Oil have not
28 wanted to work there on a permanent basis. Instead,
29 the availability of labour in the industrial sector
30 is shared among numbers of men who may work anything from

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1 one to ten shifts each year.

2 Although some have elected
3 to be full time workers, a large majority of those
4 who have taken advantage of such jobs have not embarked
5 on a new career. This majority sees Pan Arctic and
6 other industrial employment purely as a source of money.
7 Indeed such jobs are thought to be a good thing pre-
8 cisely because they make other activities possible.

9 Industrial labour, in this
10 way, services the traditional sector of the economy
11 from both the community and individual point of view.
12 There are those who appreciate its benefits for their
13 own sake, the money they can earn subsidizes their
14 hunting and they are able to lead a materially better
15 life than could be maintained by hunting full time.
16 There are those who are content to work full time but
17 are aware that their work helped others in the community
18 and therefore the community as a whole to harvest and
19 use local renewable resources.

20 The continuance of a mixed
21 economy shows that high income levels do not, of them-
22 selves, indicate the traditional relationships to the
23 subsistence base of being totally altered. The use of
24 industrial work opportunities is, however, a sign of
25 the instability and insecurity of traditional economic
26 life. There is also an instability and uncertainty in
27 industrial work. The workers themselves are often
28 not at ease with the kinds of opportunities offered
29 by industrial labour. The work they do is usually
30 at the bottom of the hierarchy of skills and they,

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1 therefore, are the workers most easily and quickly
2 dispensed with when initial work phases are completed.

3 The endeavours in which they
4 participate, exploration is short term, extractive
5 industries, are insecure by their very nature.

6 Exploration may come to nothing,
7 mines may be closed, the construction of a pipeline
8 may be over, a particular job may come to an end. Small
9 changes, either in policy or in the viability of a
10 resource can spell the sudden disappearance of the
11 two or three hundred thousand dollars per annum that
12 come into some small settlements.

13 So it is that these communities
14 of workers, hunters are made up of men and women who
15 can finally rely fully upon neither the work nor the
16 hunting. The work is uncertain. Hunting and trapping
17 does not earn enough money to buy essentials. In other
18 words, the kind of mixed economy that is growing in
19 the northern frontier does not offer native persons
20 a new and reliable relationship to the economy.

21 Indeed, it in some way
22 aggravates that already precarious economic situation
23 and introduces new uncertainty and ambiguity into their
24 mode of economic life. Here again we can point to the
25 danger of their slipping into a lumpenproletarian
26 situation of neither workers nor hunters, though the
27 first short term response to high earnings may be both
28 well being and reduced alcohol use.

29 Despite high wages at the
30 frontier and the best intentions of government policy

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1 makers, many natives are being pushed into an impossible
2 situation, separated from their own means of production
3 and unable to have a secure place in the southern
4 economic system, even Inuit of the remotest parts of
5 the north will be turned into migrant workers, casual
6 labourer and as this situation develops, will find
7 less and less reason to avoid a life, that has at its
8 center, the heavy use of alcohol. Why should he
9 do otherwise?

10 This succession of events
11 can only be avoided if the native person can achieve
12 the economic niche he desires and that does not mean
13 innovations and advances associated with northern
14 industry need be stopped.

15 In northwest Greenland, there
16 is a cluster of Inuit villages where hunting and trapping
17 continues to be viable bases of economic life. They
18 are also places where alcohol is comparatively readily
19 available. Spree drinking is a part of life there, but
20 it does not dominate and does not go with economic and
21 social breakdown. That is because the drinkers have
22 a good reason for not drinking too long or too often.
23 There are communities in the eastern Canadian Arctic
24 where this is true also, but it will cease to be so
25 if the men and women of those communities are pressured
26 into participating in the industrial frontier at the
27 price of leaving their own lands or of surrendering
28 their dependence upon them.
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We must not forget that most native people are not actually armed with qualifications that might give them an on-going place in the industrial labor market. No peoples can be forced to be qualified if only because one key qualification is the wish to live by that kind of work. Since that wish is, generally speaking, not there, the danger of expecting Inuit and Dene peoples to live mostly by wage labor results in the loss of the real and substantial alternatives that are represented by the renewable resource base.

They will not, with important exceptions be secure as workers and in becoming workers, they will become even less secure as Indians and Eskimos. This is a very real trap. It is of course this trap that explains the kind of alcohol use we associate with native peoples. It should be clear enough why they drink in a way that seems self-destructive and that shows indifference to our reasons for restraint. We must recognize that reasons for avoidance and restraint are sometimes just not applicable. Erosion of the traditional resource base by industrial advance will not solve the problem. It is more likely to make it worse.

Growing disarray and the wreckage caused by the spread of unrestrained use of alcohol are part of the price Canadian society is already paying for the socio-economic status of the Indian and Eskimo. If the northern frontier pushes on regardless of native interests as they are, as the

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1 native see them, then the social cost will rise yet
2 higher.

3 Perhaps I can end by reminding
4 us all that the southern taxpayers will pay the
5 bill, but Indians and Eskimos will experience the social
6 and economic maladies that could continue to spread.

7 THE COMMISSIONER: Dr. Brody,
8 -- Mr. Bayly, you are calling Dr. Schafer next month
9 I understand.

10 MR. BAYLY: That's correct.
11 I'm not sure if it will be next month or early in
12 September, sir but

13 THE COMMISSIONER: In any
14 event, would you make sure that Dr. Schafer receives
15 a copy of Dr. Brody's papers so that he can comment
16 on Dr. Brody's views?

17 MR. BAYLY: I will sir.

18 THE COMMISSIONER: Would you
19 also make sure that Dr. Schafer receives a copy of
20 Dr. Hobart's report on "Alcohol Sales and Illegal
21 Behavior; the study of some communities in the Northwest
22 Territories"? That was filed and marked as an
23 exhibit. Make sure that Dr. Schafer has a chance to
24 read both of those documents before he gives evidence.

25 Just before we go on Dr.
26 Brody have you read Dr. Hobart's report?

27 A I got up early this
28 morning especially to read it.

29 Q Well, do you have any
30 comment on it? If you do, we may as well hear it now.

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1 A Yes, I have a great
2 many comments on it. I don't know quite where to
3 begin. I think probably it is as well to begin by
4 outlining our areas of agreement, rather than turning
5 into a kind of campaign against another view.

6 Q Well we've witnessed
7 one or two of those.

8 A There are two conclusions
9 that Dr. Hobart comes to in which I acquiesce. They
10 are on page 19 and page 31, according to my slightly
11 sleepy notes on the front here. His first conclusion
12 is that --

13 Q Sorry, what page?

14 A Page 19, the first
15 conclusion he comes to. He says in summary:

16 "It is clear that although liquor consumption
17 and offence rates have tended generally to increase
18 in Canada since 1960, this increase has been
19 distinctly more marked in the Northwest Territories
20 than it has been in the rest of Canada."

21 Then he goes on a bit more to say about the relation-
22 ship between ^{that} increase and the surging development
23 activities.

24 I would agree that the
25 increase in the Northwest Territories is tending
26 to be much higher than elsewhere in Canada, especially
27 now. I would also agree that there was a rapid
28 increase before the surging of development activity
29 that he is referring to which is to say that alcohol
30 consumption started to go up quite alarmingly in

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1 communities even before there were major industrial
2 developments.

3 Q Before the delta oil
4 and gas play and before the Pan Arctic.

5 A During the very early
6 stages of it, yes.

7 Q Yes.

8 A That's the point I
9 would agree with. On page 31, -- I think it's
10 page 31 he correlates the decline in heavy alcohol
11 use using the criterion of Liquor Ordinance offences.
12 He correlates that decline with the reduced rates of
13 exploration employment. In other words --

14 Q Sorry, where is this?

15 A I agree that it is the
16 last few lines of the first paragraph at that page.
17 Page 31. I'm inclined to agree. I find by looking at
18 his figures and also be looking at my own, that
19 the decline that correlates with the decline of
20 employment.

21 Q He says, "it is possible
22 that some of this apparent adjustment is the result
23 of reduced rates of exploration employment during the
24 last few years for which we have data.

25 A I am agreeing that that
26 is possible. I think that is a -- his statistics,
27 especially for the lower Mackenzie regions just
28 seem to suggest that. But I must remind you that there
29 are a lot of figures that I have to look through here.
30 I didn't have a calculator with me which meant it was

H. Prody
In Chief

1 hard to do some of the equivalent --

2 Q Right.

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H. Brody
In Chief

1 A But perhaps the area of
2 Dr. Hobart's paper on which I'm most competent to
3 comment in the end is his comments on the first few
4 pages about Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay. At last we
5 have two social scientists talking about the
6 same place.

7 Q Right.

8 A Perhaps I can take the
9 liberty of trying to summarize Dr. Hobart's position.

10 Q Please do.

11 A And if you think I am
12 doing him an injustice, you should say so. His view,
13 oversimplified, perhaps, is that Arctic Bay and Pond
14 Inlet are important examples of a good adaptation to
15 industrial employment, if you look at the alcohol
16 question alone. If you take the trend in Arctic Bay
17 and the trend in Pond Inlet you find that high levels
18 of employment, actually massive injections of money
19 earnings have not produced the kinds of social
20 disarray one associates with alcohol, nor have they
21 produced very high increases in alcohol consumption.
22 That, I think, is the general conclusion of his
23 Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay data.

24 However, the trend that
25 Dr. Hobart is looking at is, I think, from 1970 to '75.
26 I'm just trying to find the exact points here at which
27 he says it. He says on page 3, the second paragraph:
28 "Significant numbers of men have been hired
29 by Pan Arctic Oil since the fall of 1970."
30 He's looking at trends from 1970 to '75. I'm afraid

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1 that he has his dates wrong here. In fact, no sign-
2 ficant hiring of men in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay
3 by Pan Arctic began before 1972 in Pond Inlet, and
4 not till 1973 in Arctic Bay.

5 Now this slip on his part
6 about the dates raises a number of questions about
7 the trend he shows, of course. For example, he has
8 one set of figures for Arctic Bay about the incidence
9 of violence associated with alcohol -- allegedly
10 associated with alcohol -- which resulted in wounds
11 having to be stitched up in a nursing station. He
12 has^a table of figures to show the consistency of these
13 figures from 1970 to '75, I think -- '71 to '75, anyway.

14 The point is, there is only one
15 figure, the 1974 figure, that's relevant-- there's only
16 one figure that comes after the beginning of the
17 hiring of men in Arctic Bay to work for Pan Arctic
18 Oil, so his table of figures showing a trend with five
19 of which figures, only one is relevant to the issue. 1971,
20 '72 and '73 are all prior to hiring, and in 1974
21 of course they were hiring. But because he believed,
22 because he made this unfortunate slip, he never did
23 draw the wrong conclusion --

24 Q Because he made this
25 unfortunate slip?

26 A Slip, yes, thinking saying
27 that Pan Arctic began hiring in 1970, he has estab-
28 lished a series of figures which cannot be a trend
29 in its normal light prior to Pan Arctic arriving.
30 you might find

I'm afraid I'm nit-picking,

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1 but it's probably important because obviously my
2 view is that there has been a very significant trend
3 in Pond Inlet; and in the case of Pond INlet, when
4 he talks about the trend, in fact it emerges he has
5 only one year for which he has data, and I sympathize
6 with him, it's extremely hard to get data on alcohol
7 purchases^{at the Frobisher Bay} Liquor Store , for example, extremely
8 difficult to measure the flow of alcohol into a
9 community without being extremely intrusive. So he
10 has, I'm not surprised, the 1974 figures. I should say
11 I have no such figures. I have never been able to
12 measure the amount of alcohol exactly coming into a
13 community.

14 But because he has only one
15 year, the figures can't be talking about a trend, he's
16 talking about a year, 1974, I think is the year for
17 which he has figures. Again, his conclusion that one
18 is an Arctic Bay trend suggests that the impact has
19 been absorbed well is a curious conclusion to arrive
20 at, even the data base. I'm sure it's what he
21 believes, and I'm sure he comes to that conclusion in a
22 perfectly good way, but partly because of his error
23 in history and partly because of the inaccessibility
24 of the relevant data, it's not possible to locate
25 a trend.

26 There's another feature of
27 his information that I would like to comment on. He
28 uses as one of the main indices the incidence of
29 child neglect as measured by the incidence of respira-
30 tory illness amongst children. I understand in fact

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1 senior
2 that some members of the medical profession suggested
3 that as a good way of measuring the degree of child
4 neglect. The problem is, however, that the kind of
5 drinking which we're talking about in Pond Inlet
6 and Arctic Bay is not like that of Inuvik or in
7 Frobisher Bay. It is not drinking which is at an
8 advanced stage; it is in the very early days of
9 increased alcohol use. It may be increasing by factors
10 of 15 per capita consumption per annum, but nonetheless,
11 it's still actually going from naught to a bit, and
12 very little sum at the time we're talking
13 about.
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H. Brody
In Chief

1 Q 30 ounces per annum
2 per year. For instance may be a 15 fold increase,
3 but it doesn't compare with the intake per capita at
4 other places.

5 A It's still 30% of the
6 N.W.T. per capita.

7 Q Yes.

8 A For example, at the
9 upper end so to speak.

10 Q So that the thing has
11 not taken hold of peoples' lives to the extent that
12 they neglect their children.

13 A It hasn't taken hold
14 of the community as a whole. It has taken hold of
15 some households. A point I would like to make along
16 the line here is that half the drinking is household
17 to household phenomenon. So the children of that
18 household are vulnerable to neglect. But because it's
19 not many, many households, it's only a minority of the
20 households and because of the extended family system,
21 the children go to another household when a drinking
22 party is about to begin. They do this quite intelligent-
23 ly. Older siblings look after their younger siblings
24 and take them off.

25 In the case of a very small
26 child whom everyone knows about, that someone will
27 make it their business to go and collect the child
28 when the drinking party begins. So, it's not possible
29 to find in these kinds of tables given here of child
30 neglect reflected as through incidences of any kind of

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1 disease. In other words, the level of child care
2 stays the same through this stage of the drinking.
3 That's another comment I have on Dr. Hobart's evidence.

4 Another comment is perhaps
5 also rather unfair, and that is that even though he
6 has got figures for mail-order out to Frobisher
7 Bay Liquor Store and it's a very useful figure though
8 which we all ought to make use of them from now on.

9 Those figures do not give
10 an account of the total intake of alcohol into the
11 community. This is particularly important in relation
12 to PanArctic because quite a lot of alcohol in
13 contravention of the rules governing the site -- quite
14 a lot of alcohol is brought by workers coming home
15 from the site in the bottom of their bag. They buy
16 it. I am not quite sure where, and bring it home.
17 That obviously is not measured by the Frobisher Bay
18 Liquor Store, mail order.

19 Of course, it is that drinking
20 which is precisely the drinking of the workers. That
21 shows their engagement in drinking, nor of course
22 can he measure with the kind of devices he uses the
23 flow of other drugs into a settlement which again
24 has tended to be, I think, through the oil sites as
25 well as through the schools. So that's another
26 comment.

27 There's another point and
28 that's conclusions he draws in relation to seasonal
29 fluctuations in alcohol use. These are quite interes-
30 ting conclusions. There are kinds of conclusions which

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1 the data invite because they are data month by month
2 rather than year by year. Perhaps we are in a
3 position to take about why alcohol use goes up at
4 one time of year rather than in another. He draws,
5 if I read him correctly, two very tentative conclusions.
6 He makes two tentative speculations.

7 The first is that there is higher
8 alcohol use in December and January and this suggests
9 that alcohol use is associated with seasonal festivities;
10 Christmas and such like. I think that's in relation
11 to the Arctic Bay figures. Apropos the Pond Inlet
12 figures, he suggests that alcohol use increases in
13 November and April. This suggests that the drinkers
14 are celebrating, I think. These are not the exact
15 words -- are celebrating the beginning and the end
16 of the wage labor season. This in regards to the
17 wage labor season as to the winter. Of course it's
18 a tentative in a way. It's rather a fanciful specula-
19 tion.

20 I would just like to suggest
21 that an alternative equally tentative and equally
22 fanciful speculation. It's worth remembering it can
23 take up to a month for mail orders to arrive. So the
24 drink that comes into the settlement in November --
25 it is ordered in November -- is drunk a bit later than
26 November. At the end or beginning of December. The
27 drink is ordered in April and these figures of
28 course ^{come} from the Frobishor Bay Liquor Store so it's
29 the ordering dates I guess that he has. So the order
30 will come to the settlement late April or early May.

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1 I would just like to suggest that these increases in
2 the drinking are the celebration of the end of the
3 main hunting season and the beginning of the next one.
4 It's equally fanciful but equally plausible.

5 Q And all subject to the
6 exigencies of the mails and --

7 A That's right. So that is
8 saying that these figures -- that these fluctuations
9 are pretty small.

10 Q But a cause must be
11 assigned to that particular --

12 A I think, speaking as
13 a sociologist, that there is no need to assign a
14 cause actually because the data theory is much
15 too short. If it was shown over ten years that every
16 November there was a peak and every April a peak then
17 they might become statistically valuable.

18 Another point that I perhaps
19 should comment on in Dr. Hobart's paper is the
20 absence of an increase in violence in Arctic Bay
21 generally. I have already pointed out that his data
22 series is much -- is sort of misplaced because he
23 only has one relevant figure. But Arctic Bay has
24 been about the most isolated community in the Baffin
25 region anyway. The community has no permanent
26 missionary -- had, at this time anyway -- no permanent
27 missionary, no permanent police detachment, didn't
28 get a Hudson's Bay Company finally until 1937 I think or '38.
29 Very late on anyway in the process. It's a place to
30 which people sort of drifted from quite a big area.

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1 Now they are all one cultural group broadly and
2 has therefore been a place where patterns of family
3 life, child care and such like have persisted very,
4 very strongly. It is not a case where there has been
5 breakdown and where there has been drinking, it has
6 been perfectly agreeable drinking on a small scale.

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1 And I suppose that's very
2 surprising indeed for a community like that in one
3 or two years would suddenly start to become infected
4 with violence and discord and things, it's a slow
5 process. The people of Arctic Bay themselves say that
6 they fear that this is what's going to happen to them
7 because they've heard about other communities. They've
8 heard about Pond Inlet for example, where ^{there} ' has been
9 an increase in violence.

10 So, even if Dr. Hobart had
11 a relevant theory to say three years, I don't think
12 it would add up. The chances are that it wouldn't show
13 any increase, but that wouldn't mean that there wasn't
14 the beginnings of a disruptive process underway.

15 The point I'm trying to
16 get at, I suppose, implicitly, is that you have to
17 look at other kinds of evidence, not statistics from
18 the nursing station as to the number of rooms or the
19 incidence of respiratory illness.

20 One thing you can look at is
21 the incidence of reported disturbances of the peace to
22 the R.C.M.P. or the number of cases brought against
23 citizens by the R.C.M.P., drunken, disorderly behaviour
24 and associated kind, and indeed, Dr. Hobart ' a very ^{used}
25 ^{interesting} table for Pond Inlet. I'm not sure I'll be able to
26 find it very quickly. It's on page 12, I think.

27 Now, remembering that Dr.
28 Hobart believes that Pan Arctic began its employment
29 policy in 1970, we have a series beginning 1969 - '70
30 and going through '73, '74, convictions in the magistrates

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1 court reading 4, 1, 2, 24, 30. 24, 1972-3, 30, 1973-4.

2 Now, of course Dr. Hobart
3 was puzzled by this increase in the middle of the
4 Pan Arctic hiring programme, I'm sure because he was
5 supposing it began in 1970 and there's no evidence at
6 all of any change, and then suddenly in 1972-3 it leaps
7 up so he has to look around for some other kind of
8 explanation as he must.

9
10 If we remember that in fact
11 the hiring began in 1972'3, then this table starts to
12 make a great deal of sense. You get an increase from
13 2 to 24 in one year which is then maintained the next
14 year and then it goes up then to 30, the first two years
15 of the heavy drinking in the community.

16 Now, Dr. Hobart looks around
17 for some other explanation for this increase and he
18 decides that it's the introduction of the telephone
19 that explains this phenomenon. Indeed, this is something
20 he's told by the R.C.M.P., whose judgement he obviously
21 places great confidence in. The R.C.M.P. told him
22 that these figures are very misleading because the
23 telephone was underway in '72-3 and hadn't been
24 before and when there's a telephone, people of course
25 quickly take it off the hook and phone in everytime
26 there's a fight and this leads to a great number
27 of arrests and therefore to conviction. Not altogether
28 an implausible consideration but for the fact that
29 the telephone in fact was installed in Pond Inlet not
30 in 1972 but the end of 1970. So, if this is the

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1 explanation, then we are bound to anticipate an increase,
2 the increase, the twelve fold increase in the figures
3 from '71 -- '70-'71 to '71-2, but that's not when it
4 comes it comes '71-2, '72-3. So, I'm inclined to think
5 that the telephone hypothesis is not correct. I would
6 also support that view and a view of mine, by reference
7 to my own experience in Pond.

8 In '71, June '71 was the occasion
9 of my first visit there, my first systematic work was
10 done in Pond in the summer of '71 during which time
11 I carried out a series of extensive discussions and it
12 emerged, there were five families in the community
13 that drank. None of these families had a reputation
14 for violence, and actions against violent drunks were
15 effectively unknown. Well, there were four in 1969-70,
16 one in '70-71, minimal. These are not necessarily
17 drunks either, as a matter of fact, these were actions
18 in the Magistrate's Court.

19 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,
20 are you getting everything Dr. Brody says all right?
21 Okay. Pardon? Yes, speak a little bit louder and
22 your voice is a little bit clipped and I was going to
23 ask Mr. Carter to send the transcript of your remarks
24 on the subject of Dr. Hobart's report along to Dr.
25 Hobart so he could send a letter to the Inquiry in
26 reply if he wished to and that's why I wanted this to
27 be as accurate as it could be and I know it must be
28 difficult to get what you're saying because it isn't
29 as regularly formed as the sentences you used in your
30 prepared paper.

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In Chief

1 A I'll try and be slower
2 and more clear.

3 The thing I'm getting at at
4 the moment is that in Pond Inlet, in 1971 there was
5 no violence of the kind that is now associated with
6 drinking there or at that time, one would associate
7 with drinking in other places. This was not a part
8 of life. It was unheard of for someone to lock a door,
9 for example. It was unheard of for anyone to worry
10 about the neighbours drinking, it wasn't part of
11 the social organization. There were other problems
12 but that didn't include this one.

13 By 1973-4 period, many people
14 locked their doors, many people were extremely afraid
15 of what was going on next door and it was very common
16 place to have a drunk stagger into the house. Not
17 necessarily in order to cause trouble, often because
18 he wanted to visit his friends or relations. But some-
19 times, of course, this did result in trouble.

20 What I'm getting at is, the
21 telephone hypothesis is profoundly misleading. Not
22 because in itself it is historically incorrect or any-
23 thing, but because it somehow is trying to explain away
24 a twelve fold increase in convictions in the Magistrate's
25 Court, which can be explained perfectly simply. They
26 were the result of heavy drinking and they were a result
27 of drunks becoming violent and they were a result of
28 that whole series of difficulties that arises when
29 drinking is becoming widespread.
30

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1 I want to underline this
2 point five times.

3 Q Excuse me. Just so
4 that there is no misunderstanding about your position,
5 you are saying that that occurred with the employment
6 of large numbers of men from the village on the
7 Pan Arctic project, and that the concurrence of the
8 expansion of employment there and the statistics in
9 the Magistrate's Court should lead us to conclude
10 that the employment and the cash it generated resulted
11 in the drinking and the offences that occurred
12 because of the drinking. Now, is that what you're
13 asking us to conclude?

14 A Yes. The money made
15 possible this kind of drinking.

16 Q O.K., now, what's the
17 point you want to emphasize five times?

18 A That this Table 2 in
19 our column,

20 "Convictions in the Magistrate's Court,"
21 page 12, is a good piece of evidence in support of
22 what I'm saying. 1972-3 you start to see the
23 evidence of heavy drinking as a problem in the
24 community.

25 Q Right.

26 A I think that's the last
27 point I would like to make about Dr. Hobart's paper.
28 It does not, by its very nature, look at the kinds
29 of evidence I think are of great importance. That's
30 not a criticism of Dr. Hobart; it's saying that there

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1 are other kinds of information we should look at,
2 that don't lie within the province of his enquiry
3 and his declared purposes.

4 Q You say that his
5 assumptions were flawed, in any event, by reason of
6 his --

7 A Yes.

8 Q -- believing that
9 employment began two years before it in fact did.

10 A Yes. I explained why
11 that has direct bearing. What I want to get at is
12 the respiratory infections in pre-schoolers, the
13 wounds needing suturing, frequencies, and convictions
14 in Magistrate's Court are not the only things we
15 can look at. There are other things. The degree to
16 which a community is nervous. The degree to which
17 it worries what is going to happen to it in the
18 future because of drinking are also indices of --

19 Q But rather less suscep-
20 tible as a statistical measurement.

21 A And that's why there's
22 no reason why we should ask Dr. Hobart to produce
23 such things. He's only taking things which are sus-
24 ceptible to statistical accounting, and that's --
25 I'm not saying that he should of course look at these
26 other things, I'm saying if he does not look at these
27 other things perhaps we ought to be looking at them
28 in this Inquiry.

29 I've already said that in
30 Pond Inlet in 1971 there was no apprehension about

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1 neighbors, what neighbors might do to you, and there
2 was a feeling that the community was somehow well out
3 of the kinds of problems they'd heard about in other
4 places, and although there were persons who drank,
5 they were not feared. I know people there who have had
6 long experience with drinking, it's not that there was
7 alcohol which they had never seen before, but it was
8 a community where there were reminiscences. I men-
9 tioned in my paper reminiscences of drinking 50 and
10 60 years ago.

11 Q But now they're putting
12 different ingredients into it.

13 A Now they're putting in
14 different ingredients, socio-economic ingredients
15 into the alcohol.

16 By 1973 -- this is a change
17 -- by 1973 for a central debate, the central debate,
18 I would argue, in Pond Inlet was about the problem
19 of alcohol. They set up an Alcohol Committee. They
20 began to debate how they could get around, how they
21 could use the Territorial liquor ordinances to intro-
22 duce local legislation which would contain the
23 alcohol problem. In 1973-4, and I say that because
24 I can't remember whether it was 1973 or '74, the
25 Commissioner of the N.W.T. received a letter from a
26 woman in Pond Inlet, a very well-respected woman,
27 saying that the alcohol problem had just got out
28 of control in Pond, and that she and her family were
29 in a state of great fear and apprehension, as were
30 many other people there, and something had to be done

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white's

1 about it, and it was the / responsibility, because
2 it was because
of them that alcohol had started coming in in great
3 quantities. Unfortunately -- I don't have a copy of
4 the letter with me, I would have liked to have
5 brought it, that is the gist of what she said --
6 the Commissioner who had already by that time been
7 hearing, I think, the news of the alcohol problem
8 in Pond Inlet,

9 Q Do you mean the Commis-
10 sioner in Ottawa?

11 A The Commissioner of the
12 N.W.T.

13 Q Oh, Commissioner Hodgson?

14 A Yes.

15 Q I was thinking of the
16 Commissioner of the R.C.M.P.

17 A Oh, no, no, no. I don't
18 think anyone from Pond Inlet has written to him.
19 Commissioner Hodgson.

20 Q Well, they might have.

21 A They might have, yes.
22 Commissioner Hodgson had already been made alarmed
23 by news of the problems in Pond, was very disturbed
24 I'm sure, personally . I know that he and his
25 government at that time were generally very disturbed
26 by the alcohol problem in the N.W.T. and feared its
27 spread into the Eastern Arctic, which had been
28 comparatively immune, and he decided to use his own
29 authority and close down the liquor supply to Pond.
30 In other words, turn it dry, insofar as he could, by

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1 declaring that no one could order liquor out of the
2 Frobisher Bay Liquor Store. I only give you all
3 these details to show the seriousness of the problem
4 as it existed not only in the mind of the people in
5 Pond, but in this town too.

6 The reaction in the Community
7 of Pond was very hostile indeed to this act. It
8 offended them because it seemed to be an arbitrary
9 and rather grand thing to happen to them and done to
10 them by an outsider; but also because a large number
11 of people in Pond missed the alcohol. It's a small
12 arrow, I think, pointing to the extent to which alcohol
13 had become part of life in Pond Inlet in 18 months
14 to two years, and when the Commissioner came to Pond
15 to explain and justify his decision, he encountered
16 such opposition and hostility that he had to revoke
17 it. But that little series of events set under way
18 a much more important series of events, as it turned
19 out, which was the process whereby the Community
20 Council, subsequently the Hamlet Council, started to
21 decide how alcohol was going to be controlled in Pond
22 Inlet. We can now contrast 1971, June, when there
23 were five families in Pond who drink, with no problem
24 at all to anyone reckoned as serious, with June of
25 1975 by which time the Hamlet Council was preparing
26 rules and regulations for the ordering of liquor, by
27 which time a jail had been built to house drunks, that
28 was built in '74, I think, and by which time alcohol
29 had become a part of Pond Inlet life.
30

H. Brody
In Chief

Therefore, it's not a little surprising to find Dr. Hobart concluding that alcohol had not become a problem in Pond Inlet over this period. That we must recognize the methodological reasons for that. I think that that's all I can remember at the moment of my reactions. Perhaps that in the course of any cross-examination I remember others.

0 Yes.

A -- that associate to that!

Q Let me just ask you one question arising out of what you have said. You said at page 12, the very first thing you said referred to a passage in his report. What page was that on again? If you look at your notes it must be right at the top of your notes. It is the --

A The first thing I
said apropos --

Q Of Hobart.

A Well, I am afraid my notes are --

Q Well, all right. You agreed that --

MR. BAYLY: I have that it's with regard to an agreement to something Dr. Hobart said at page 19 of the report.

THE COMMISSIONER: 19 O.K.

MR. BAYLY: -- with regard to greater alcohol consumption and related offences in the Territories as opposed to western Canada.

H. Brody
In Chief

1 THE COMMISSIONER: At page
2 19 -- yes, turn to page 19 Dr. Brody. You agreed
3 with this paragraph in which Dr. Hobart said:

4 "It is clear that although liquor consumption and
5 offence rates have tended generally to increase
6 in Canada since 1960, this increase has been
7 distinctly more marked in the Northwest Territories
8 than it has been in the rest of Canada. Further
9 it should be noted that there was a rapid increase
10 in the size of both of these indicators before
11 the surge in development activity which began
12 about 1968. But it has been more rapid since
13 then."

14 Now, let's --

15 A My agreement with that
16 does not sit very easily with the Pond Inlet situation.
17 What I want to agree with perhaps should be made more
18 clear. That is that the beginning of a major develop-
19 ment project does not get underway simply by automatical-
20 ly heavy alcohol use. You see, even though we have
21 this startling increase in Pond by the most general
22 of standards, drinking in Pond is not very heavy. It's
23 below the N.W.T. average. It's below the national
24 average I think though I was trying to do the arithmetic
25 on this this morning and didn't sort it all out in
26 time. But I think it was looking as though it was
27 going to come out below the national average.

28 What I want to get at is that
29 it will become more rapid. Pond Inlet has only seen
30 the beginning of this process. Maybe in 25 years time

H. Brody
In Chief

1 people will look back to 1972 to find there's a very
2 quiet beginning in the alcohol use of that area.

3 In the case of Arctic Bay,
4 there is not much significant alcohol use even after
5 a year and a half of working for Strathcona and for
6 PanArctic Oil. But on the other hand, I don't think
7 that either Pond Inlet or Arctic Bay have been subjected
8 to a surging development of the kind that people in
9 Inuvik have experienced for example -- or Frobisher
10 Bay have experienced. Of course, it depends what we
11 mean by "development". I am thinking in terms of the
12 opening of a liquor store, the arrival of significant
13 numbers of transients who drink heavily, single men
14 particularly, the over-availability of employment,
15 enormous construction going on. In the Arctic Bay, they
16 haven't experienced construction in situ
17 at all. The number of workers who have gone away
18 to find a place to work.

19 Q Construction in situ?

20 A In situ.

21 Q Right.

22 A The number of workers
23 who have gone away to work in other places. I am
24 not trying to say, "Here we have a case of a surge in
25 development and therefore a great sort of rise in
26 alcohol and therefore ^{high}extraordinarily alcohol use". I
27 am not saying either of those things which allows me
28 I think to agree with this paragraph.

29 Q Yes. Well, taking the
30 other side of that coin, so far as the causes of the

H. Brody
In Chief

1 increase in the rate of liquor consumption in the
2 N.W.T. from 1960 to 1968 is concerned, to what do you
3 attribute that? The movement into the settlements?
4 The decline in fur prices? The movement away from the
5 land? Would you comment on that just for a moment?

6 A Yes. I want to introduce
7 the proviso however before I do, that I am now talking
8 outside my area of direct experience. I am talking
9 about the western Arctic. I am talking about historical
10 periods as well. That's a whole different bag.

11 Q Well this is a pretty
12 broad -- well, this relates to the whole N.W.T.

13 A But you were asking me,
14 as I understood you how I would explain the rise in
15 Inuvik and places of that kind which is probably -- and
16 Yellowknife.

17 Q Right.

18 A -- which is the great
19 urban centers you are talking about now not the
20 settlements.

21 Q Let's talk about that
22 then.

23 A Yes. Well, I would
24 attribute it to two causes as I think Dr. Hobart does.
25 Firstly that the whites coming north were pretty
26 heavy drinkers. Once there was a migrant worker
27 population ^{moving} into the north, there was a group coming
28 in who had far above national average consumption or
29 drinking habits. You have also got an increasing
30 proportion of the population made up of single men

H. Brody
In Chief

1 between 25 and 35 or between 20 and 35 which of
2 course is one of the highest drinking groups.

3 Q Of all races.

4 A Yes.

5 Q That is that large
6 number of single men -- it's made up of single men
7 of all races.

8 A I was thinking actually
9 specifically of southerners coming in.

10 Q O.K. Just so I know what --

11 A Those two southern
12 components would push up the N.W.T. rate pretty
13 significantly because of the employment opportunities
14 being created.

15 Q Right.

16 A The second thing that
17 would I suspect had pushed it up in the Inuit and
18 Dene sectors, if you like -- the drinking community,
19 are the sorts of things I am talking about, you are
20 starting to get a lumpenproletarian element. You
21 are starting to get people who drifted into town or
22 decided to move into a town or spent part of their
23 time in the town working casually or very low down
24 in the wage labor business. These are people who
25 drink because there is no reason for not drinking.
26 There are also people who need to create a community
27 and society where community and society do not very
28 well exist for them and heavy drinking is a way of
29 creating that.

30 So, I would see that last

1 consideration not in terms of people living in Aklavik
2 for example who are working perhaps as wage laborers
3 or people who are living in Frobisher Bay even work
4 as wage laborers. But people who have gone to
5 Frobisher Bay to work. Or people who have gone to
6 Inuvik to work. Or people who have drifted into
7 Yellowknife or come into Yellowknife to work or live.

So you are in fact reproducing the skid row conditions of the south in the north. Therefore the kinds of factors that I am talking about in my paper here become directly relevant.

H. Brody
In Chief

There are two kinds of considerations which I think go a long way to explaining the 1960-68 increase.

THE COMMISSIONER: O.K.

Well, Mr. Carter, would you make sure that Dr. Hobart receives a transcript of Dr. Brody's remarks on the subject of his paper on alcoholism, and ask him to comment on what Dr. Brody has said about Dr. Hobart's paper, and ask him that if he's inclined to do so, I should like his comments on Dr. Brody's paper, that is on his evidence in chief, if Dr. Hobart wishes to. Naturally if Arctic Gas decided to bring Dr. Hobart back, that's perfectly acceptable to me, but he's been yanked back and forth so often now that as on the last occasion I think when he left I said if he had remarks on a given subject, feel free to send us a letter. We'll leave that in your hands.

Well, I should think that I've probably canvassed most of the subjects that counsel might have expected to on cross-examination. What do you suggest, we have coffee?

MR. GOUDGE: I think probably we could have coffee, sir, but I think you're probably right.

THE COMMISSIONER: O.K., we'll
adjourn for coffee.

(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR A FEW MINUTES)

H. Brody
Cross-Exam by Bell

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: All set?

MR. GOUDGE: Yes sir. Before

we were so rudely interrupted by the sources of power,
I think we
were ready to have Mr. Brody cross-examined, and
perhaps I could begin to call on the participants;
Mr. Carter?

MR. CARTER: I have no questions,
sir.

MR. GOUDGE: Mr. Hollingworth?

MR. HOLLINGWORTH: No questions.

MR. GOUDGE: Mr. Reesor?

MR. REESOR: No questions.

MR. GOUDGE: I was confident
that far, sir. Mr. Bell is next.

("ALCOHOL" BY H. BRODY MARKED EXHIBIT 680)

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. BELL:

Q Mr. Brody, do you feel
able to comment on what role alcohol plays in maintain-
ing colonial political relationships in the Northwest
Territories?

A In a limited way, yes,
I think there are some comments I can make. Perhaps
I can take the opportunity of that question and return
briefly to the question the judge asked about the
strange increase -- apparent strange increase in
1966-
alcohol consumption in 1968 in the N.W.T. to which I
gave a series of typically sociological type answers,
forgetting, of course, there is a much more simple

H. Brody
Cross-Exam by Bell

1 and straightforward partial explanation for that
2 change, and that is that -- perhaps before stating
3 it I should say that these facts that I'm about to
4 give, or the key factor I'm about to give illustrate
5 the extent to which the alcohol issue has been part
6 of the colonial situation for a very long time, and
7 that is until, I believe, 1959 or '60, native people
8 in the Northwest Territories were effectively inter-
9 dicted, they weren't allowed to drink, and it was
10 the franchise issue --

11 (POWER WENT OFF AT 3:30 P.M.)
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H. Brody
Cross-Exam by Bell

(POWER CAME ON AT 4:45 P.M.)

THE COMMISSIONER: Well,
I think we're ready to go again. Do you want to
just repeat your answer to the last question, Dr.
Brody?

A Yes. I wanted to point
out in 1959 or thereabouts the dispute over the
extension of franchise to native peoples meant that
the alcohol issue got raised and up to that time
native people were not legally entitled to drink any-
where in the Northwest Territories. Thereafter
they were entitled to drink. This reflects on the
one hand the essentially colonial situation here
with the southern lawmaker deciding who and who is
not mature enough to drink -- a typical situation of
the colonial situation. On the other hand it helped
explain alongside the opening of the Frobisher Bay
Liquor Store in 1961, which I forgot to mention
earlier on, helps to explain the rise in the per capita
alcohol consumption in the N.W.T. that Dr. Hobart
mentions, 1960 to '68. That's one part of my answer,
I think, to the question about colonialism.

Another part which is much
trickier and perhaps the part that comes after
is to do with the extent to which alcohol was used
as a stupifier, namely, it was often said that the
only people you catch drunk would spend a lot of
their time drunk, they're not in^{any} position to protest
effectively against injustice or their situation as
a whole. My own view, and here we are, just in the

H. Hoody
Cross Exam by Bell

realm of speculation and personal opinion, my own
view is that in the short run, there is truth in
that; but in the medium and longer run, I think that
what tends to happen is that violence becomes a
feature of life, by the same token, by the same
what you perhaps would want to call the colonialist
structure, the colonialist situation, violence becomes
endemic , and initially this violence is introverted.

What is typical about the generalization process in
the north and in so many other societies is very
well documented in North Africa, as a matter of
fact, but as people become lumpenproletarianized
they beat one another up, rather than their oppressors.
Men beat up their wives, people beat up their
ethnically similar neighbors, and in the Skid Row
situation when I was there, it was very striking
that most violence was indigenous Indian beat
up Indian, and white beat up white. There were
occasional exceptions to this but that was the general
pattern.

This kind of violence, I
think, becomes endemic in the short run; in the long
run it tends to be turned outwards.

Now, Fanon and others
have written about this process of violence, first
it's introverted, then it subsequently being turned
outward amongst people who are lumpenproletarianized
but the literature in fact concentrates on people who
constitute a very large group whose numbers are very
high. The North African masses under the French

H. Brady
Cross-Exam by Bell

colonial domination, for example, is a local classic of that argument.

In the Northwest Territories

-- THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me, could you repeat that?

A The lumpenproletariats of North Africa were the group in relation to whom this argument about the development of violence was first elaborated.

Q Oh. By Fanon

A By Fanon, yes.

In the Northwest Territories for one who is trying to see the analogy and look at the colonial problem in the Northwest Territories and the procedure of violence, I'm inclined to the prediction alongside Fanon that we will, if the situation remains deeply colonial, it will start to be turned outwards, in other words, the colonialized will start to attack the colonialist. This is all very formal and crude, but the qualification obviously that needs to be introduced is to do with the numbers of people in the north. Since they feel themselves to be very much a minority and since the general drift in the north is for them to become more and more of a minority, the process whereby violence shifts from being introverted to being directed outwards is much slower and much less certain, and may not actually take place at all, because of the general feeling of weakness.

In that case, the use of

H. Brody
Cross-Exam by Bell

1 alcohol will remain sort of trapped in a worse
2 stage, i.e. becoming more demoralized, more in greater
3 disarray, more on the model of the Indian Reserves say
4 of Southern Alberta. In that sense I am predicting,
5 I suppose, that the alcohol use will continue --
6 would continue to be part of the colonial situation
7 and would not threaten it, and might even be helpful
8 to it on the model you're offering. That's a long
9 rhetorical answer. Is that the sort of thing you
10 were thinking about?

MR. BELL:

11 Q I wanted to hear your
12 comments, yes. Just one further question. There have
13 been times lately where there appears to be a growing
14 opposition to alcohol use^{among} natives in the Mackenzie
15 District, at least, and possibly elsewhere in the
16 Northwest Territories. I was wondering if you had
17 anything to say about the significance of that
18 movement at thistime?

19 A Yes. Two thoughts on
20 that, both of which are speculative. First, I
21 think the land claims issue and the whole revival
22 of discussion about what the land means and what
23 traditional economy and society are about have given
24 people a renewed sense of the possibilities that
25 exist in the present for maintaining or recreating
26 -- also creating the kind of society they actually
27 want. This means there are now quite good reasons
28 for not drinking on the argument I repeated earlier.

29 There is an answer to the
30 question, "Why not drink?" Don't drink because we've

H. Brody

Cross-Exam by Bell

Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 got to get it together now in relation to our land,
2 in relation to existing intrusion of the industrial
3 development' ^{factor} That is the first faction that is
4 very important.

5 The second one, I think, in
6 relation to the Eastern Arctic in the community I
7 was talking about earlier on -- Baffin Island and
8 such like places -- there is also a concern about
9 alcohol as in the case of the example I gave of the
10 Pond Inlet Council trying to work out rules and
11 regulations to control the spread and use of alcohol.
12 I think that is much more simply a consequence of
13 realizing right now there's a great threat, and there
14 are people who are not caught up at all in the alcohol
15 syndrome, and who still are in a position to some
16 inference in points in the communities stand up and
17 say, "we've got to do something about this," and
18 go talk to the drinkers and say, "Listen, you can't
19 let this go on. We're going to deal with it."

20 That evidence in support
21 of my views that these communities remain quite inte-
22 grated really for the time being.

23 Those are the two thoughts,
24 those thoughts.

25 MR. BELL: Thank you. Those
26 are all the questions I have, sir.

27 MR. GOUDGE: Mrs. MacQuarrie?

28
29 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MRS. MacQUARRIE:

30 Q I hope I can see these

H. Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 questions.

2 A I'm sorry, I can't
3 hear you.

4 Q I hope that I will be
5 able to see these questions.

6 A You can't see them and
7 I can't hear them, we're in a bad way.

8 Q We may be better off,
9 actually. I was wondering what areas of the north
10 you surveyed in preparation for your presentation.
11 What particular communities did you study?

12 A I think you'll have
13 to be more specific. Are you asking what communities
14 I've actually worked in?

15 Q You have submitted your
16 paper --

17 A The alcohol paper?

18 Q Yes, and on what data
19 did you base your presentation?

20 A Well, first of all the
21 places that I mentioned explicitly are, in fact,
22 the most important ones. That is to say Skid Row,
23 the Canadian prairie town, into which migrants are
24 coming from Indian Reserves across the country. That
25 is to say I was living among people from the six
26 nations, many people of the Salish Athabascan
27 communities, and many people in the Sub-Arctic
28 groups, and a few in the Mackenzie drainage.

29 Insofar as the work is
30 based on experience in Skid Row, it has, ethnographically

H. Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 speaking, a broad basis. Sometime in the course of
2 that work on reserves and in Indian communities, in
3 Alberta, in the Slave Lake area, and on the B.C. coast,
4 Queen Charlotte Islands in fact.
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1 The data from the high Arctic
2 are based upon work in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay, as
3 I mentioned explicitly. As I mentioned, I think yesterday
4 or the day before yesterday. Also on work in the north
5 Baffin area region generally and of course they're
6 doing overseeing the land use and occupancy project
7 there, that is to say more work in Pond Inlet, Arctic
8 Bay and new work in Igloolik.

9 I've also worked, in the course
10 of being in the eastern Arctic, in Frobisher Bay, several
11 visits and in Arctic Quebec, Clyde River among the
12 Cree and Inuit there and the Belcher Islands and in
13 fact, I began work on the Hudson's Bay coast in Rankin
14 Inlet. That is the spread of my direct experience.

15 My indirect material derives
16 from the transcripts that I mentioned at the very
17 beginning of my evidence the other day, which came from
18 all the communities, all the Inuit communities, that
19 is to say, of the N.W.T.

20 Q Okay, thank you.

21 Not all native people are
22 alcoholics, or do you agree?

23 A I don't think any native
24 people are alcoholic or virtually none.

25 Q All right.

26 A You see, that's one of the
27 main points I have to make. If I was to say what
28 is the most important single piece of information I
29 had to offer, I think I might say that there are no
30 alcoholics really, there are no alcoholics in the western

1 sense. An alcoholic is generally described as someone
2 who drinks compulsively alone, in other words, he is
3 alcohol dependent. My point is that native drinking
4 is striking for the absence of this phenomenon. What's
5 striking about it is it's social quality. So, if there
6 are no friends with whom to drink, drinking will not
7 take place, that's my hypothetical prediction.

8 Q Then, how do you define
9 the -- is it that all native people have drinking
10 problems?

11 A No.

12 Q Or -- what I'm trying
13 to get at, Mr. Brody -- Dr. Brody, is that obviously
14 not all native people drink to excess or have a drinking
15 problem or consume alcohol, okay? Some people, some
16 native people who are -- have on-going employment do
17 drink to excess or whenever they can, but some of
18 those people also do not, so I was wondering if you
19 made any comparison between these people in order to
20 determine why some of them did develop severe drinking
21 problems, enough to upset their way of living and
22 the ones who were perhaps stronger and didn't have
23 this problem.

24 A I think that's a fair
25 enough point. I don't have any statistical tabulations
26 of -- on the basis of which we can decide what heavy
27 alcohol use correlates with, in terms of economic
28 status. I don't have statistics on this, but let me
29 restate something I tried to say earlier on and that
30 is that the communities I'm talking about and the

H. Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 communities that I have personally felt most alarmed
2 about because of my own involvement with them, communities
3 where I would say there is not, by natural standards,
4 heavy drinking. There's not an alcohol problem in
5 the way in which we might say there was an alcohol
6 problem in the N.W.T. as a whole. That kind of
7 general thing, I don't think would apply very well.

8
9 So, I'm not -- I'm certainly
10 -- I feel quite right, I don't think there are --
11 even in the majority of native peoples have alcohol
12 problems or family lives that are bedeviled by heavy
13 alcohol use. So, there is a burden that rests on the
14 burden of explaining why that some do and some don't.
15 I think my answer to that, despite the absence of
16 statistics is that there are two groups who tend to
17 use alcohol pretty heavily. One group consists of
18 those persons who have recently become involved in the
19 wage labour sector and who in fact, aren't too pleased
20 to be that involved, who may represent a loss. Another
21 group are those people who have ceased to maintain
22 a mixed economic life because of ceasing to be able
23 to hunt, being able to use the land. So, people who
24 live in settlements who, the reasons that it would
25 take too long to go into, all kinds of different reasons
26 for this, but who somehow have stopped hunting and
27 sit at home and feel acute depression, and this group,
28 in fact, exhibits two different kinds of symptoms,
29 one kind I've not really mentioned at all and that's
30 simply being depressed, not talking, being very
withdrawn, sitting quiet as though sorrowing.

1 The other group tends to drink very heavily and the
2 first group tends to get smaller, the second group
3 larger. It recruits from the first group, so those
4 are the kinds of factors that I think are crucial.

5 Q M-hm, but are there
6 not people who have gone through this same experience,
7 work experience, or non-work experience, who are not
8 affected?

9 A Oh yes, there are.

10 Q But this is what --

11 A And it's all sociological
12 generalizations, that's all it is.

13 Q So, you didn't really
14 break this down into a statistical basis and make com-
15 parisons and --

16 A No, I have not done that.

17 Q -- on the strengths and
18 weaknesses of -- well, the strengths of this particular
19 group that caused them to not get involved in any kind
20 of problems as a result of industrialization or what-
21 ever and the other group who had particular weaknesses
22 that caused them to be susceptible?

23 A That's a piece of research
24 I've never done and I've never heard of it being done
25 and I think you would present enormous difficulties, but
26 perhaps someone should try and do it now. I don't have
27 that kind of precise statistical answer to that question.

28 Q I see.

29 A I doubt that anyone
30 could have, but I don't have it.

H. Prody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

Q Okay.

I was interested in your remarks about Pond Inlet. I believe -- correct me if I'm wrong, you mentioned that the -- I don't know what to call it, a drinking problem, excessive drinking or whatever, became -- people began to bring alcohol into the settlement or to consume it there in 1971 and this was -- or you mentioned that it was because there was an increase in the work force or people began working at that time because of construction nearby, is that so?

A Perhaps I should explain that. I obviously haven't succeeded in getting this across very well.

My general point about Pond Inlet is that there had been drinking there of various kinds and drinking in that area for a very long time indeed, probably 50 - 60 years maybe a 100 years. I don't know when the first whalers first had people aboard drinking. There was an account in 1822 in Foxe Basin, by Captain Lyon that appears in his, I think it's called a book called "My Private Journal", of drinking with Igloolik Eskimos, people of that area, people that had emerged from their general travel as far as Pond. So, I have evidence of people drinking in that area from the 1820's. So, I'm certainly not saying that drinking began in 1971. What I am saying is that in 1971, when I was first there, in the summer and late spring of that year, there was not anything that could be called a drinking problem and none

1 of the problems associated with drinking, though there
2 were five households -- as far as I know, in which
3 drinking took place fairly often.

4 By 1974, however, there
5 were all the difficulties that I described.

6 Q M-hm. Had you considered
7 that other factors may have been involved besides
8 the work bit?

9 A Yes, I think I considered
10 some factors. I, for a time was interested in the
11 hypothesis that ran, institutionalization and the
12 local government process creates a sense of alienation
13 and general unease which might give rise to the kind
14 conditions of in which alcohol would grow strong, but
15 I rejected that particular hypothesis in favour of the
16 one to do with high earnings of cash and the Pan Arctic
17 and subsequently Strathcona employment monies.

18 I'm sure there's lots of
19 hypothesis I haven't thought of and it may well be
20 that I haven't thought of the best hypothesis and I'm
21 offering I think the hypothesis I think is best and
22 that on the data that I've been given, can't, in my
23 judgement, be falsified.

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H. Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 Q You mentioned that at
2 that time, cases began to be reported to the R.C.M.P.
3 of the problems related to drinking. Is that right?

4 A Perhaps I should suggest
5 using the table that Dr. Hobart gave, table two
6 which in fact is not simply a matter of problems being
7 reported but is a table of figures giving convictions
8 in the Magistrate's Court.

9 Q Yes, now what often
10 happens in many of the communities is that for a
11 time, the R.C.M.P. or the missionary or the white
12 area -- let's just leave it ^{with} the R.C.M.P. who may have
13 gotten along extremely well with the people and didn't
14 apprehend them for their drinking may have been quite
15 broad-minded about the whole thing. Whereas, a change
16 in these leaders of the community or oppressors --
17 whichever you choose -- may have upset the community
18 enough or the new whites coming in may have
19 said, "Good heavens. Do you realize there are five
20 families in this community who are drinking. This
21 has got to stop." And immediately started putting on
22 the pressure. Had you considered that kind of thing?

23 A No. No because in the
24 case of Pond Inlet I know it is not true because I
25 was living there at the time. I was living during this
26 -- in the community during this process, watching
27 the liquor come in, watching the family I lived in
28 becoming more and more implicated in the alcohol scene
29 and the alcohol problem, recognizing that whereas the
30 house next door had not had alcohol. Suddenly for the

H. Brody
CROSS-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 first time they were drinking. The news coming in that
2 here is another family drinking. The news coming in
3 that a particular man who lived down the road who
4 had never caused trouble was now causing trouble.
5 These are not the consequences of five families
6 suddenly coming under more pressure.

7 So I am not talking simply
8 about these statistics. In fact, I am using my own
9 experience and not --

10 Q All right. But was
11 there a change in the administration of that community?

12 A As you know, as well as
13 I do I am sure, the changeover of personnel is going
14 on all the time. Like there was a new R.C.M.P. who
15 came into Pond Inlet -- one of two R.C.M.P.'s has
16 changed in Pond Inlet somewhere during that time.
17 Indeed, as a matter of fact, he was a much -- well,
18 I ought to not comment. But there was a change of
19 personnel.

20 Q Yes. O.K. Was there
21 an increase in the number of transients passing through?
22 Was there an improvement in the travel and communication
23 generally?

24 No.
25 A Not significantly. In 1971
26 when I first went there, the understanding
27 at that time was that two planes per week would
28 run into Pond Inlet and that is about what ran on
29 average. That is still the case. There are however
30 more people coming through in the summer. But these
are on the whole government officials who have virtually

1 no contact with the community. In one sector, the
2 number of transients has gone down. That is probably
3 the most relevant factor and that is the construction
4 workers who used to come in to do lots of the building,
5 plumbing and such like work now have been replaced by
6 local workers who do those jobs.

7 The very sector of the white
8 transient population who would have dealings with the
9 Inuit has gone down. But the very sector of the white
10 population who tend not to have many dealings with Inuit
11 on a day to day basis anyway has gone up a little.

12 So, the hypothesis with which
13 I think you would have to be left if the implication of
14 your argument were to be followed is that the more
15 transient personnel you have, the more alcohol problems
16 that you have.

17 THE COMMISSIONER: What was
18 that Dr. Brody? I missed it.

19 A I am saying that the
20 implied hypothesis is that the more transient, government
21 officials and such like officials you have in a settlement
22 the more alcohol problems you tend to get. That's not a
23 hypothesis of which I can see very much basis in.

24 Q Well I think perhaps I
25 wasn't very clear then because, do you not think that a
26 change in the administration in a community if it all
27 happens at the same time would not disrupt the people
28 who live there?

29 A There have been changes--
30 I wish I had--

H. Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 Q You mentioned that the
2 R.C.M.P. left. Well in many communities that is the key person
3 who the community relates to.

4 A Yes, I think it's
5 quite imaginable.

6 Q Were there others that
7 left at the same time?

8 A Yes. I think it's
9 quite imaginable that a change in R.C.M.P. could
10 result in many more convictions. In fact, that is not
11 the case in Pond Inlet. I know that from observation.
12 Other changes, of course were taking place all the time.
13 I have documented - -

14 Q You didn't mention them,
15 you see. You just mentioned the construction nearby as
16 the factor.

17 A Yes because of course
18 when one is producing conclusions, it is not possible
19 to go through every imaginable hypothesis and show why
20 it is not the case. Indeed it's obviously very well to
21 have these other hypothesis raised and for me to be able
22 to explain why I am convinced they are not the case.
23 But just to make one more point which I keep trying
24 to squeeze in here. The thing is this. Change in
25 personnel is endemic to these northern communities.
26 There is a continuous turnover of people: administrators,
27 nurses, R.C.M.P., everybody. As you know, the average
28 northern life expectancy of a teacher I think
29 when I was in Pond was about two years and maybe less.
30 Much the same figures apply throughout.

H. Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 Except if we were to say
2 that alcohol consumption was going to go up because
3 of changes in personnel, we would be committed to the
4 expectation that when these changes first became endemic
5 then alcohol use would go up or at such time as soon
6 as it possibly could. That just is not the case.
7 The changes of personnel have been endemic in that
8 region since the 1950's when there were large -
9 first significant numbers of outsiders of importance
10 to the community.

11 You only find this dramatic
12 change in alcohol use in 1972 - 3.

13 O I believe it would be
14 very interesting to know the actual occurrences in the
15 community which precipitated this increase in the
16 reporting of crimes. Anyway, one other question
17 and then I am finished.

18 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,
19 that's an increase in convictions.
20 That's a different thing.

21
22 A That's right. It's not
23 an increase in reporting necessarily. I don't have
24 any evidence about an increase in reporting, nor have
25 I produced that kind of evidence.

26 Q O.K. Just one more
27 question. Do researchers still require a license
28 or special permission from the government and the
29 community in order to go into that community to conduct
30 the research?

H. Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

A The Northern Science

Research Group, when I first worked for it in 1969 and I think probably long before then, was in charge of giving out explorer's -- I have forgotten the exact name -- but explorers and something's licences. In fact, this was purely a ritual procedure and was to do with Canadian sovereignty in the north. It was in order to make sure that anyone who came to the north, particularly Americans, were quite clear they were going into Canadian territory and were therefore getting a license to do so. Everyone who applied for one ^{one.} was automatically given. So there has never been a process of licensing which has been discriminatory.

In response to the second part of that question, do the communities have to give their permission, the answer in law is no. But in practise, I don't think any social scientist especially in the last three or four years would be doing anything other than committing a very serious error if he didn't go to the community and say, "I am going to work here. The thing that I am going to be working on is such and such and such and such and do you think that's all right?" I think that is pretty well standard procedure in the social science.

H. Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 stand that perhaps
2 Q I under/ in the past two
3 years there was a session of Territorial Council that
4 was devoted to this matter because the communities
5 were objecting to the number of researchers who were
6 researching them.

7 A Yes, I think the
8 communities were quite right to, especially in the
9 case of Igloolik, I understand, they registered very
10 serious protest against the biological program which
11 resulted in a series of rather intimate intrusive
12 investigations into their functions of all kinds.

13 Q I'm sorry, Mr. Commis-
14 sioner, I don't have the actual facts regarding whether
15 or not researchers do require licensing to survey the
16 communities, but I could --

17 A I believe the licensing
18 function was handed over to the N.W.T. Governm ent in
19 '74 or 5. So I think the Northern Science Research
20 Group or now I think it's called Social Research Group or something.
21 is no longer in charge of this, it was handed over
22 to the Territorial Government. Apparently the
23 Territorial Government operates this in the same
24 way as it had been operated before so I'm given to
25 understand.

26 Q I've just been handed
27 the information. Don Stewart, the Territorial
28 Government, now issues this licence and the Community
29 Councils were asked if they will accept a researcher.

30 A Yes. Well, I know there
is this misunderstanding.

H. Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 Q I believe Baker Lake in
2 1974 was the community which rejected another inves-
3 tigation.

4 A Yes, I'm not surprised.
5 I understand that when Igloolik protested quite
6 prociferously against being investigated and requested
7 that a condition of the Federal Government's labs existence be
8 that all ^{research} proposals be vetted by the community and
9 be shown to serve the community's general interest.
10 They were told that in Canadian law that was
11 absolutely out of the question, though of course an
12 informal understanding should exist that on the
13 whole researchers would approach communities and seek
14 that support.

15 THE COMMISSIONER: O.K.

16 MR. GOUDGE: Mr. Bayly has
17 his advisors here. He would be next I think.

18
19 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. BAYLY:

20 Q Mr. Brody, with regard
21 to the information you collected at Pond Inlet that
22 led you to the hypothesis that alcohol consumption
23 was in many ways related to the introduction of wage
24 employment, both with the oil companies and with the
25 mine at Nanisivik. Could you tell us where your
26 information came from, what sort of surveys did you
27 conduct?

28 A What I did was keep a
29 record of the amount of liquor that landed in the
30 settlement each month. This was quite easy to do,

H. Brody
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 in fact, because there was someone in the settlement
2 in charge of freight -- what are they called? Pieces
3 of paper anyway, the bureaucracy of freight and with
4 that I was able to keep a record of that kind. This
5 meant that I was covering the Frobisher Bay Liquor
6 Store supply and some other supplies and to this I
7 tried to add some account of other flows of liquor
8 which are very discreet, people coming in from
9 employment ^{sites} with bottles in their bag, but the ^{nature of the} entry
10 of alcohol into the community means that the whole
11 think is not a means of very exact ^{accounting}.
12 But that generally was my procedure.

13 The second procedure was to
14 at regular intervals find out how many households were
15 regarded as households which drank.

16 Q And did the members of
17 the community share your perceptions that the increase
18 in consumption of alcohol was in some way related to
19 the increase in wage employment, the diminishing use
20 of the land in the way you suggested?

21 A There are sort of two
22 questions in there. Do they think it's to do with
23 increasing employment? I think the Arctic Bay Community
24 Council's ^{about} anxiety/ the Nanisivik Mine is very good
25 evidence in support of the view, yes, they do think
26 that. However, not everybody said this. There is,
27 in response to the second part of your question, i.e. the land
28 another way of viewing alcohol, which is much more
29 fatalistic really, somehow feeling this is what you
30 hear from older people, somehow feeling it's all over.

H. Brody
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 They tried to be Inuit or they tried to live on the
2 land, they tried to keep their old way going, but
3 the whites have got their way, and part of the white
4 way is to drink. That's a fatalistic acceptance of
5 drinking which you get which doesn't make explicit
6 reference. I'm talking now about quite a narrow age
7 group actually. It doesn't make explicit reference
8 to the cash situation.

9 Q Did you have the opportunity
10 ity to observe people who had been non-drinkers becom-
11 ing drinkers in Pond Inlet or Arctic Bay when you
12 were there?

13 A Not in Arctic Bay because
14 I think it hasn't really happened in Arctic Bay to
15 any significant extent. But in Pond Inlet, certainly,
16 yes, that's not the sort of thing I would want to
17 describe to the Inquiry, but yes, anyone who has lived
18 in the north a long time in recent years or a few
19 years will have had that experience, the experience
20 of older men particularly, as head of the households,
21 which makes it especially serious, in their early
22 middle age, their '40s, starting to drink very heavily
23 indeed and spree drink, and their whole family, their
24 whole household or the adults in the household becoming
25 involved in this.

26 Q Is there any suggestion
27 or any evidence that you saw that some of the drinking
28 began among young people who had been outside and
29 returned to their community?

30 A Yes, there is quite a

H. Brody
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 bit of evidence in support of that, especially, I
2 think young people who have been on heavy equipment
3 training courses, Fort Smith, and in British Columbia
4 were sent some to , who drank there, drank in Fort Smith, and
5 one or two ^{men} I knew quite well had never drunk before
6 that. When they went to Fort Smith they saw it as
7 the place to drink and then came home, tried not to
8 drink, and then started to drink gradually, drank
9 or more/began to regard their wish to drink as a
10 problem in their households.

11 Q Would you agree with
12 me, you've outlined in the Pond Inlet situation your
13 reasons for believing that child neglect is not an
14 indicator that can be measured because children would
15 move from household to household to avoid drinking
16 situations. Would you be in a position to agree
17 with me that the difference between that community
18 and a town like Inuvik might also be that the supply
19 of food was not impaired because of drinking households
20 and children were not robbed of nutrition.

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30

H. Brody
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 A Yes, I think that's a
2 very good point, I should have thought of it. It's
3 probably important to say that the communities like
4 Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay don't really have food
5 shortages at all, they're very well endowed and that
6 means that even in a household where nobody's really
7 bothering to earn much money, or no one's sober for
8 perhaps four or five days, there's always food about
9 the place. There's a half a caribou in the porch, there's
10 25 fish on the roof and in any case, the next door
11 neighbour has half a caribou on his porch. The supplies
12 of food in these communities, especially in recent
13 years are enormous. Over-endowed. That applies actually
14 to a lot of -- to many communities in the north.

15 Their children -- there's
16 never a question of malnutrition as a result of parents
17 not bothering to feed their children.

18 Q And you could contrast
19 this situation, I would suggest to you, with that
20 even in Frobisher Bay?

21 A Yes, yes. Though I think
22 perhaps it's worth making a general anthropological
23 type point there and that is that on the whole, Inuit
24 children are very self-reliant and are expected to be
25 so from very early on in their lives. That is to say
26 they -- it's assumed that they know when to sleep
27 and when to eat. There aren't meal times, there aren't
28 bed times. Children are trusted to be authorities
29 on their own needs. That is to say, when they're
30 hungry, they go and eat. Nobody tells them it's 4:00

1 now, you must eat. Nobody tells them it 9:00, now you
2 must sleep. That means that if the community -- even
3 if many households in the community are afflicted with
4 this spree and with a great deal of drunkenness going
5 on, the children are, in any case, accustomed to see
6 to their own needs, like eating and sleeping and they
7 will find places to eat and places to sleep.

8 So, I think the process can
9 probably go a long way in a community before you get
10 serious malnutrition problems or child neglect problems.

11 I think even in Frobisher
12 Bay there's -- it's still -- there's still a defense
13 system against that kind of thing because of this
14 distinctive way of handling children and handling
15 one another generally.

16 Q Now, I understand that
17 -- and this isn't on the subject of your alcohol
18 work directly, but you have examined the outpost
19 programme as it has been proposed and as it has been
20 begun in the eastern ARctic. I wonder if you could
21 comment on that as it may offer some help and hope
22 to peoples who may be heading down this road to dependency
23 and affliction caused by alcohol?

24 A Yes. After I completed
25 my work for Indian Affairs in '73, I was asked to
26 make specific recommendations about the general problem
27 in the areas I'd worked. The recommendation I made
28 was that an outpost programme should be got underway.

29 I made this recommendation
30 because many people had said to me that that's what

H. Brody
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 they wanted. They wanted the opportunity of spending
2 more time on the land. They wanted the renewable
3 resource sector better supported. They wanted to get,
4 in effect, some kind of guarantee, that if they did
5 live on the land and they had a bad month, that wouldn't
6 spell disaster. They wouldn't be driven back off the
7 land into the settlement. They also said, many people
8 said to me in the region that I knew best, that they
9 would like the opportunity of outposts because then
10 they could have dry communities, since their own
11 settlements were obviously no longer dry, what they
12 would like is the opportunity to have camps again, which
13 were dry and which were properly serviced, insofar as
14 that was possible.

15 This idea was generally fairly
16 well received and in the -- in the meanwhile, the N.W.T.
17 came up with a similar scheme, which, in the first
18 year provided funds for outposts in the Igloolik area,
19 I think one at Agu Bay and one at Steensby Inlet and
20 I think there were one or two other camps across the
21 N.W.T. but I'm not sure of their locations, which received
22 some funding, and the grand swell of interest in such
23 funding and in such camps across the Territories, has
24 I believe resulted in the N.W.T. having a much, much
25 larger budget this year for outpost programmes.

26 I haven't actually done any
27 work on how it's sorting itself out and how it's being
28 administered, but I am given to understand that it's
29 going ahead on a gradually larger scale and I think
30 that that is one of the most interesting developments,

H. Brody
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 actually, in the north and one of the most hopeful
2 signs and it's particularly hopeful that this kind of
3 proposal seems to be built into the land claims sub-
4 mitted, the ones that have come in anyway.

5 Q Do you have any recommenda-
6 tions with regard to the western Arctic, if we take,
7 as given that the people in that area of the Arctic
8 as well, would like an outpost programme? Would it
9 be possible to set one up at the time that a pipeline
10 was being constructed or would you feel that it should
11 be set up prior to that?

12 A I think that the sooner
13 an outpost programme -- outpost programmes go ahead,
14 the better, in general, if there are people who want
15 them, if only because they are one way of reducing
16 the tendency to herd people into the industrial employ-
17 ment factor. They do actually, make the choice some-
18 think of a reality. If there is an outpost programme
19 with housing services, perhaps some guarantees against
20 bad months, delivery of fuels to campsites, marketing
21 for furs and such like, if there is all that, then
22 when a person is offered a job at Strathcona Mine
23 or on the pipeline or whatever, he is in a position
24 to say, "Actually, no. I'd rather earn a decent living
25 this way." That's my real reason for wanting outpost
26 programmes to go ahead.

27 Q All right. Then, do
28 you have any thoughts on how long it would take to set
29 up an individual camp and get it running in terms of
30 seasons?

H. Brody
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 A That probably depends
2 on how long it is since camps have been in use, but
3 when I envisage the outpost programme originally, I
4 thought in terms of people getting camps underway that
5 had been in use very recently or were partially still
6 in use perhaps, and camps of that kind can be found
7 across the north.

8 Q I see. All right. Now,
9 you've spoken of the alcohol committee in Pond Inlet
10 that was set up in response to the problems there, were
11 you aware of the situation in the settlement of Clyde
12 River with regard to the same problem and what the --

13 A I've heard they've been
14 developments in Clyde River, but the exact nature of
15 them I hadn't heard. Perhaps you can --

16 Q All right, as I under-
17 stand they have an alcohol committee which is similar
18 to the one that you've described.

19 A Oh.

20 Q Do they take employees
21 from Clyde River to Arctic Bay as well?

22 A They haven't -- they did
23 not take employees from Clyde River to Pan Arctic but
24 they are intending or have begun to recruit for
25 Nanisivik Mine in Clyde, I think. I'm not sure. These
26 things are developing so fast it's impossible to keep
27 up with them all.

H. Brody
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 Q Right.

2 A I know that the original
3 plan was to widen the net which would catch potential
4 employees to take in east Baffin, Clyde and also
5 Fox Basin, Igloovik and all the --

6 Q In your opinion would
7 that be because there weren't enough workers available
8 in Pond Inlet or Arctic Bay?

9 A Oh yes, a very serious
10 mistake was made when the employment predictions were
11 made in relation to Nanisivik mine. It was thought
12 that there was high unemployment in north Baffin. In fact,
13 it emerged that there wasn't high unemployment at all.
14 There was, in fact, overemployment if you include the
15 traditional sector and they couldn't find enough workers.
16 They began a very heavy recruitment drive in Igloovik
17 for that reason. Interestingly enough the reason
18 that they went to Igloovik lay in the fact that
19 Igloovik maintained a large number of persons in the
20 traditional sector who were hunters and trappers and
21 therefore tended to be seen as unemployed and therefore
22 suitable candidates for Nanisivik mine. It illustrates
23 what I was saying I think in my first paper that the
24 people who tried to maintain the life in the traditional
25 sector tend to be the targets of worker seekers.

26 Q Right. Now in the
27 western Arctic attempts have been made to set up
28 programs in relation to alcohol which are remedial
29 rather than preventative: detoxification centers,
30 counselling, alcoholics anonymous, etc. Given your

H. Brody
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 experience with the peculiarities of alcohol consump-
2 tion in these small communities do you see any chance
3 of these offering at least janitorial solutions to
4 areas that already have problems?

5 A Janitorial is the word.
6 I suspect that there will be very few potential clients
7 for those services who have come from the native
8 community. Maybe they will be much more in the end.

9 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse
10 me. I didn't understand the question. Do you want
11 to repeat it because you dropped me off at the last
12 turn and I -- will you go around again.

13 MR. BAYLY: All right, I
14 am asking him Mr. Commissioner about detoxification
15 centers, alcohol counselling, alcoholics anonymous
16 and whether these kinds of institutions or facilities
17 which have been set up in the south to deal with
18 people with alcohol problems have a change of success
19 at least in cleaning up some of the existing alcohol
20 problems in northern communities. That was what Mr.
21 Brody was attempting to answer.

22 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes.
23 All right. Go ahead.

24 A My suspicion is that
25 they will have limited janitorial function in cleaning
26 up the odd individual here and there particularly in
27 the urban centers. When I was working in the skid
28 row community, I made it my business to talk with
29 people who ran institutions for alcoholics and to
30 people with chronic alcohol problems. The people who

H. Brody
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 ran those institutions told me they did get native
2 inmates but they were very few compared to the size
3 of their drinking problem as they saw it, and that
4 they didn't intend to stay with the program. They
5 found it very hard and very lonely and such like.
6 That was confirmed for me by conversation with people
7 who have experience with those programs.

8 My guess is that they will
9 be quite useful in a limited way. I am sure it's
10 been encouraged. They may be useful particularly for
11 the whites in the north who I believe have a pretty
12 severe alcohol problem in relation to the national
13 averages anyway.

14 MR. BAYLY:

Q But you don't see them
15 as a solution really to the problem that you have
16 described, especially in the smaller communities.

17 A No of course, I don't
18 see them as a solution at all. They don't seem to
19 me to tackle the real nature of the problems.

20 MR. BAYLY: All right. Those
21 are all the questions I have. Thank you very much.

22 MR. GOUDGE: No re-examination.

23 THE COMMISSIONER: We have
24 had so many interruptions that I want to make sure
25 that I understand the thrust of your evidence Dr.
26 Brody. You said that there was no history of use
27 of alcohol or drugs among the native people of the
28 north before the white man came. You said that today
29 you put it in a way that I intend to re-examine.
30 because it isn't easy to summarize, but you said that it

H. Brody

1 is associated with the adoption of the white man's
2 way of life and is at the same time a means of
3 -- or an instrument of -- or facilitates social
4 relations or social gatherings among native people.
5 So it's a double -- it has this two-sided means.
6 You said that the -- and I would think this relates
7 to your last answer in which you suggested detoxifica-
8 tion centers are not likely to reduce the native
9 drinking. You said that the reasons that we regard
10 as sufficient not to drink do not apply to native people
11 who are drinking in the north today.

12 A That's one reason why
13 the detoxification center is not likely to be useful.
14 The other is the detoxification center is explicitly
15 designed for the chronic alcoholic. That's the type
16 we don't generally find.

17 Q And you say that people
18 -- northern natives -- who drink are people who
19 are spree drinkers and do not feel a compulsion to
20 drink. They drink in groups and do not drink alone.
21 You said that all of the violence and discord that
22 accompanies drinking to excess among native peoples
23 in the north is not regarded by those who drink,
24 except in rare instances as a sufficient reason to
25 stop drinking. Maybe I have not put that fairly so
26 you might comment on that.

27

28

29

30

A It's a point I haven't

A Well, the people --
let me begin by saying that the kind of violence
that erupts is, generally speaking, of a very minor
nature. The brawls, verbal dispute that turns into
a bit of fisticuffs, maybe someone breaking something
For those who are doing it, it's not such a terrible
thing, and --

A Yes, it does in some cases. But since the general picture is really that it doesn't lead to such things, and those who drink think that they are -- it can't happen to them, nothing serious can happen to them, the real anxiety about these things is in the minds of those who don't drink -- the next door neighbor who hears the banging, who becomes afraid. The problem nature of these manifestations of heavy drinking is much more to do with those who don't drink and have a feeling that the community as a whole, the communities where there's a large factor that doesn't drink or doesn't drink much.

H. Brody

1 that in the minds of those who are drinking --

2 Q But we know, at least
3 everyone has said that accident rates on Indian
4 Reserves in Southern Canada, beatings and killings
5 arising out of drunkenness, drunken parties, the
6 group drinking, it confirms your thesis that as a
7 result of that activity the rate of fatal accidents,
8 the rate of beatings and the rate of killings among
9 native people in Southern Canada is greatly in
10 excess of similar rates among the white population.

11 A Yes, I think that's
12 right. Perhaps we're seeing this too narrowly.
13 Perhaps I could make an analogy that might be
14 helpful or not. If you went up to someone who drives
15 a lot and spoke to them actually driving increases
16 the chance of having a very serious accident, and
17 indeed they were charged with having a serious
18 accident if you drive statistically speaking higher
19 than if you were an Indian living on the reserve and
20 drink, I think perhaps you ought to regard that as
21 a very good reason for not driving. It's an argument
22 with which we're probably -- anyone who drives is
23 familiar.

24 But we have other -- as I
25 say, don't regard this as something that's going to
26 affect us directly. How to direct that
27 statistical generalization towards one's own immediate
28 future, so familiar in human life from what is
29 generally known and what is individually particularly
30 anticipated, and I think I can get drawn into that
category.

H. Brody

THE COMMISSIONER:

I see the point.

Well, we could discuss these subjects with you for a long time, and it's been very interesting, but I think this gathering is here to see your movie. So let's adjourn.

Well, thank you, Dr. Brody.

Your evidence has been most helpful and we're very glad you came.

(WITNESS ASIDE)

THE COMMISSIONER: We'll

adjourn then till 10 A.M., and after the movie we'll resume the meeting with counsel in my room.

(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO JULY 23, 1976)

347

M835

Vol. 168

ATTN:

Mackenzie Valley pipeline Inquiry:

TITLE

July 22, 1976

DATE SUB

RESPONDER NAME

347

M835

Vol. 168

CA1
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-74M21

MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE INQUIRY

IN THE MATTER OF APPLICATIONS BY EACH OF
(a) CANADIAN ARCTIC GAS PIPELINE LIMITED FOR A
RIGHT-OF-WAY THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS
CROWN LANDS WITHIN THE YUKON TERRITORY AND
THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES, and
(b) FOOTHILLS PIPE LINES LTD. FOR A RIGHT-OF-WAY
THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS CROWN LANDS
WITHIN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
FOR THE PURPOSE OF A PROPOSED MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE
and

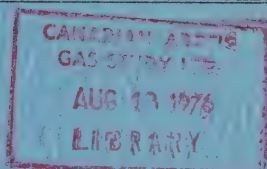
IN THE MATTER OF THE SOCIAL, ENVIRONMENTAL AND
ECONOMIC IMPACT REGIONALLY OF THE CONSTRUCTION,
OPERATION AND SUBSEQUENT ABANDONMENT OF THE ABOVE
PROPOSED PIPELINE

(Before the Honourable Mr. Justice Berger, Commissioner)

Yellowknife, N.W.T.,

July 23, 1976

PROCEEDINGS AT INQUIRY



Volume 169

APPEARANCES:

Mr. Ian G. Scott, Q.C.,
Mr. Stephen T. Goudge,
Mr. Alick Ryder, and
Mr. Ian Roland, for Mackenzie Valley Pipeline
Inquiry;

Mr. Pierre Genest, Q.C.,
Mr. Jack Marshall,
Mr. Darryl Carter, and
Mr. J.T. Steeves, for Canadian Arctic Gas Pipe-
line Limited;

Mr. Reginald Gibbs, Q.C.,
Mr. Alan Hollingworth, and
Mr. John W. Lutes, for Foothills Pipe Lines Ltd.;

Mr. Russell Anthony,
Prof. Alastair Lucas and
Mr. Garth Evans, for Canadian Arctic Resources
Committee;

Mr. Glen W. Bell and
Mr. Gerry Sutton, for Northwest Territories
Indian Brotherhood, and
Metis Association of the
Northwest Territories;

Mr. John Bayly and
Miss Lesley Lane, for Inuit Tapirisat of Canada,
and The Committee for
Original Peoples Entitle-
ment;

Mr. Ron Veale and
Mr. Allen Lueck, for The Council for the Yukon
Indians;

Mr. Carson Templeton, for Environment Protection
Board;

Mr. David H. Searle, Q.C.
for Northwest Territories
Chamber of Commerce;

Mr. Murray Sigler and for The Association of Munici-
Mr. David Reesor, palities;

Mr. John Ballem, Q.C., for Producer Companies (Imperial,
Shell & Gulf);

Mrs. Joanne MacQuarrie, for Mental Health Association
of the Northwest Territor-
ies.

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Robert A. RUTTAN

John T'SELEIE

Sam STANLEY

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Ruttan, T'Seleie, Stanley
In Chief

Yellowknife, N.W.T.

July 23, 1976

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: We'll
come to order, ladies and gentlemen. Mr. Bell?

MR. BELL: Mr. Commissioner,
I'm pleased to present our panel on alternative economic
development. I'd like to introduce the panel members to
you. Starting on your far right is Mr. John T'Seleie,
next to him is Mr. Bob Ruttan, and on the far left
is Dr. Sam Stanley.

ROBERT A. RUTTAN,

JOHN T'SELEIE,

SAM STANLEY, sworn:

DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. BELL:

Q Mr. T'Seleie, I'd like
to start with you and go through your qualifications.
You attended primary and secondary schools in the
Northwest Territories and university -- you attended
the University of Lethbridge at Lethbridge, Alberta
from 1969 to 1973.

A Yes.

Q In 1973 you joined
the staff of the Indian Brotherhood in the community
development program, and in May of this year you were
appointed director of the community development program.

A That's right.

Q Mr. Ruttan, you are at
present the president and senior biological consultant

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1 of Amisk Biomanagement Consultants Ltd., Edmonton,
2 Alberta.

3 WITNESS RUTTAN: That's
4 correct.

5 Q You have a B.A. in
6 Zoology from the University of Saskatchewan. You have
7 a secondary school teaching certificate in biology
8 from the University of Saskatchewan. You have an
9 elementary school teaching certificate from the
10 University of Alberta.

11 A Right.

12 Q From 1948 to 1965 you
13 held various positions involving biological research.

14 A Yes.

15 Q From September 1965 to
16 October of 1969 you were a wildlife technology instruc-
17 tor at the Saskatchewan Institute of Applied Arts &
18 Science at Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

19 A Correct.

20 Q During that period you
21 were also a wildlife consultant to the Game Division
22 of the Government of the Northwest Territories.

23 A Yes.

24 Q And you've also
25 engaged in other biological studies, including from
26 August, 1971 to April, 1975, various studies with
27 Renewable Resources Consulting Services, Edmonton.

28 A That's correct.

29 Q And you've also conducted
30 the studies listed in the appendix to your testimony.

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1 A That's correct.

2 Q Turning to you, Dr.

3 Stanley, you are now the program co-ordinator of the
4 Centre for the Study of Man in the Smithsonian
5 Institution at Washington, D.C.

WITNESS STANLEY:

6 A Correct.

7 Q You have a B.A. in
8 philosophy from the University of Washington; an
9 M.A. in anthropology from the University of Washington;
10 and a Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of
11 Chicago.

12 A Yes.

13 Q Turning to your
14 professional experience, you've done various field
15 research projects, including in 1956 a study of a
16 Tlingit Indian Village; in 1958 to 1960, a study of
17 an Indonesian Village; from 1961 to the present you've
18 conducted intermittent research on Northwest Coast
19 Indians -- I presume that's in the United States, is
20 it?

21 A Yes.

22 Q From 1956 to the present
23 you've also conducted research on American Indian
24 demography; and from 1970 to the present you've con-
25 ducted research on the American Indian ecumenical
26 movement.

27 A Yes.

28 Q In addition to that from
29 1971 to 1974 you were engaged in the research on
30 American Indian economic development.

Ruttan, T'Seleie, Stanley
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1 A That's correct.

2 Q You have also designed
3 and supervised separate research projects on the
4 cross-cultural uses of alcohol and cannabis and
5 on education and population.

6 A Yes.

7 Q You are a Fellow of the
8 American Anthropological Association, and Associate
9 of Current Anthropology, and a member of the Association
10 for Asian Studies.

11 A Yes.

12 Q And you are the author
13 or co-author of the publications listed in the appendix
14 to your testimony.

15 A Yes.

16 Q Well, I'd like to ask
17 you to start by reading your evidence in, Dr. Stanley.

18 A This presentation is
19 a summary of a study which took place from late 1971
20 to 1973. The subject matter was economic development
21 in seven American Indian tribes. Funding for the work
22 was provided by a grant from the office of Economic
23 Research of the Economic Development Administration,
24 U.S. Department of Commerce, under grant #99-7-13229.

25 The aim of the study was
26 to develop professionally an Indian point of view of
27 the concept of "economic development" and of other
28 efforts to improve conditions in Indian reservations
29 and communities, and to pinpoint factors contributing
30 to, or detracting from, the success of such efforts.

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1 A number of Indians have participated in the seven
2 studies of individual tribes which form the basis for
3 a comparative analysis, and although it was not
4 possible to have every one of the seven reports written
5 by an Indian, the non-Indian authors have written
6 their reports with the collaboration of Indian members
7 of the communities described.

8 It is clear that economic
9 development takes an organized group of dedicated,
10 skilled people and surely Indian tribes have proved
11 themselves by their 20,000 or more years of adaptation
12 to divergent conditions in the new world. Yet, if
13 measured by the criteria for 20th century economic
14 development, most Indian tribes fall far short of the
15 mark. How is it that a self-reliant, completely
16 competent group of tribal people cannot get above the
17 generally acknowledged poverty level of the United
18 States? And is it true, as Vine Deloria, Jr., has
19 asserted, that those tribes which hewed most closely to
20 traditional forms of governing themselves have been
21 much more successful in achieving some modicum of
22 economic development?

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Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
 In Chief

The selection of the tribes for this analysis was governed by a number of considerations. First, it was desirable to get a geographic spread. Secondly, we wanted a spread in terms of population size and land area. Thirdly, we wanted tribes with very different histories of white contact. Fourthly, we wanted tribes with various experiences of economic development including at least one successful group as well as ^{at least} one very doubtful case. Finally, we had to choose tribes that had been recently studied by people who would be willing to prepare monographs.

The Lummi work was done by Vine Deloria, a Sioux, with the assistance of some Lummi students at Western Washington State University at Bellingham. Morongo reservation was done by Dr. Lowell Bean and Madeline Ball, a Cahuilla Indian, with assistance from many of the Morongo people. The Navajo work began under the direction of Milton Bluehouse, a Navajo, who unfortunately had to withdraw because of a number of overwhelming commitments. He was succeeded by Dr. Lorrain Ruffing, an economist, who lived for a few months at Shonto and was able, with the assistance of the Navajo people, to get a good basic grasp of the Navajo economic situation. The Papago study combined the efforts of Dr. Bernard Fontana and two Papagos, Juliann Ramon and Henry Manual. The Eastern Oklahoma Cherokee research was conducted by Albert Wahrhaftig, with the assistance of a number of native Cherokee people. The Passamaquoddy study was carried out by Susan Stevens, wife of former Governor of the Passamaquoddy and presently Commissioner

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1 of Indian Affairs for the state of Maine, John Stevens.
2 The Pine Ridge Study, carried out by Dr. Ray DeMallie,
3 required somewhat more fieldwork, and a portion of the
4 funds for it went to Indians who assisted him in the
5 field.

6 Those who participated in this
7 study were familiar with other anthropological examinations
8 of Indian economic behavior, in particular, "Human Population
9 and Technological Change", edited by Edward Spicer and
10 published by Russell Sage Foundation in 1952. Many of
11 the lessons of that volume would be repeated in this
12 study, but there are important differences. The Spicer
13 volume consisted of a series of case studies, many of
14 which emphasized the futility of trying to impose outside
15 programmes upon Indian tribes. The present study con-
16 curs with it on this point as well as many other. However,
17 the basic approach of this study differs primarily in
18 that it looks at economic behaviour within an even wider
19 context. Our strategy and procedure was quite different
20 from that of the Spicer study with the possible exception
21 of the Papago monograph with its emphasis on a case
22 study approach.

23 To begin with, we agreed to
24 compare the tribes in terms of a number of factors which
25 seemed to be closely related to economic development.
26 Ownership of production factors, management, Indian or
27 non-Indian, of these resources. Planning, social organ-
28 ization that affects labour force participation, scheduling
29 of work hours and motivation for growth, personal and
30 economic. Methods of dealing with crisis, drought, flood

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
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1 and other, and legal interpretations bearing on develop-
2 ment of resources, including the relative importance
3 of community held land versus individual ownership.

4 The seven papers include an
5 historic dimension because Indians have a perspective
6 toward modern life which involves their own past deeply.
7 The treaties, which most non-Indians regard trivially,
8 are a sacred part of their life. They are part and
9 parcel of their identity as Indians and non-fulfillment
10 of the treaty obligations is tantamount to stripping
11 Indians of their special status, vis-a-vis the rest of
12 the American citizenry. Each treaty has its special
13 history usually more in the breaking than in the keeping.
14 Secondly, modern Indians know that they are the descendents
15 of the original occupants of this land. They had their
16 roots here thousands of years before Europeans arrived.
17 They are acutely aware of the specific ways in which they
18 lost possession of over 98 percent of the land to non-
19 Indians. All of this involves history and it is living
20 history to Indians, handed down orally in every tribe, a
21 part of their collective bitter experience.

22 An additional reason for including
23 the historical dimension is that generally, economic
24 development implies capital accumulation and the ability
25 to increase production of goods and services as well as their
26 distribution. Prior to European presence, Indians were as
27 developed economically as they needed to be, and there's
28 a reference to Sol Tax and Sam Stanley, "Toward Economic
29 Development of Native American Communities", Joint Economic
30 Committee, Congress of the United States, U.S. Government

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1 Printing Office, 1969. Even after Europeans began to
2 gain control of the continent, Indians experienced an
3 economic flowering based on the fur trade, the horse,
4 metal, and the adaptation of some socio-political
5 European institutions. Despite their initial successes
6 in continuing their own economic development, they
7 subsequently came less and less to share in the nation's
8 progress economically. It is this historical fact which
9 constitutes the present Indian economic development
10 problem. Any understanding of the Indian's present plight
11 must include a grasp of the processes by which it has
12 come to be as it is.

13 This report then, is derived
14 from the anthropological perspective rather than the econo-
15 mic. Above all, this means that every action has a
16 context and makes no real sense outside of it. Specifically,
17 this means that Indians are suspicious of development
18 projects which ignore their existing system of social
19 relationships and ideas about land use. The failure of
20 so many development projects on the Papago Reservation
21 and at Pine Ridge are good examples. With the exception
22 of the Lummi aquaculture project, it holds true for every
23 development project discussed in this report.

Stanley, Ruttan, "Selene"
In Chief

1 Now, I'll give you some
2 summaries of these studies. Beginning in the east,
3 the first point of European contact, we can look at
4 the Passamaquoddy' in the state of Maine. The report
5 by Ms. Susan Stevens is remarkable in that it is the
6 first history of the Passamaquoddy which corresponds
7 to their own view of themselves. Secondly, it brings
8 to our attention the present conditions of a tribe
9 which has been ignored by the Federal Government
10 since the founding of the American Republic. They
11 are an eastern United States Indian group which has
12 been swept under the table for almost 200 years.

13 A third significant fact
14 which incidently characterizess all of the reports is
15 the strong emphasis on their persistence as an iden-
16 tifiable American Indian social group. Despite
17 enormous pressures to "disappear", the Passamaquoddy
18 are very much with us today and have every intention
19 of remaining highly visible. Ms. Stevens' account
20 deserves especially close perusal because (as indicated
21 above) she writes from the vantage point of being
22 married to the long time governor of the Passamaquoddy
23 who is presentl Commissioner of the Maine Bureau of
24 Indian Affairs.

25 The following account consists
26 mostly of excerpts from the Passamaquoddy manuscript.
27 They convey both the substance and the style of the
28 report. Thus, Ms. Stevens notes that one old
29 Passamaquoddy man said:

30 "Indians are funny people; they hate to see

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
In Chief

another Indian get ahead".

The idea seems to fit well into the concept of "limited good". That is, "more for you is less for me". In former times, this homily was probably actually true. But today the idea is a major stumbling block in economic development programs for unless the whole standard of living of the tribe can be uplifted at once, there will be bitter resentment and outright attempts to thwart those who succeed over others.

The idea of the limited good is intimately connected to the factionalism between lineage groups. It also explains why the even distribution of goods and jobs throughout the reservation community is the only assurance that one man's -- or one family's -- gain is not another's loss. Poverty and want have intensified the idea of limited good. This non-productive cultural element contributes to the problem. More than anything else, it perpetuates the cycle of poverty.

Federal programs have further exacerbated the idea, guaranteeing at least partial defeat of their aims at the outset.

The constant shuffling of federal programs (available one year and not the next; funded one time and defunded the next) further fulfills the basic tenet: that good is limited and all grace is transitory.

The only answer, except for an ideal and consistently generous Federal Government, is the development of a viable Passamaquoddy economic

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1 development program that would exist through time
2 and beyond the winds of political changes. Such a
3 program would involve and be run by the whole communi-
4 ty -- ideally by using tribal practices constructively
5 instead of considering them a detriment as is presently
6 the case. Eventually, as business acumen developed
7 and income for everyone improved, the idea of limited
8 good might recede to a manageable size and be put
9 away on the cultural shelf. The Passamaquoddies
10 might then recognize that there could be "more for
11 us all".

12 Since 1794, the Indian
13 agent has been a Passamaquoddy fact of life. Indeed,
14 for many he was the most important fact. The agent
15 dispensed grocery orders, occasional clothing orders,
16 house repair money and sometimes medical funds to the
17 impoverished Indians of the state. The agent often
18 became a powerful figure among the people, a demi-god
19 with the power to grant or retract critical favors
20 from his needy charges. But he also came to be seen
21 as a natural resource -- part of the natural order of
22 things.

23 Likewise, welfare, introduced
24 in the '30's came to be thought of as a natural
25 resource.

26 Now that there are other sources
27 of income on the reservations, primarily through
28 federal programs, the agent no longer has his grip
29 on the people and Aid to Dependent Children (ADC)
30 doesn't break up as many homes. But nearly 300 years

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In Chief

1 of being given "handouts", even though they were
2 necessary has resulted in many Passamaquoddies seeing
3 the new federal programs as merely another fortuitous
4 kind of necessary resource.

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1 The self-help philosophy
2 behind the federal programs is understood in Washington
3 and by a few Passamaquoddy leaders, but it is not
4 understood by the majority of the Indian people.

5 Inevitably the programs are
6 seen as temporary natural resources too -- plums ripe
7 to be picked while the season lasts.

8 There is also that fundamen-
9 tal difference between Indians and other groups in
10 America, that they were here first. The bright
11 dreams of the immigrants and their descendants were not
12 Indian dreams, and the "mainstream" holds no charms
13 for most of them. Their basic values and orientations
14 are not European either, and do not mesh easily with
15 those of most Americans.

16 There is also an almost ab-
17 stract sense of loss -- of land, of culture, and of
18 self-sufficiency. This submerged sadness and anger
19 expresses itself most strongly in the determination
20 to hold onto whatever is left, particularly the land
21 base that makes any cultural continuity for Indians
22 possible.

23 The question of social
24 identity is currently undergoing changes in the
25 direction of a stronger Indian identity and a greater
26 pride in the Passamaquoddy background.

27 Fishing and the fur trade were
28 the principal early industries to both Acadia and
29 colonial New England. The Indians were involved in
30 both, but the fur trade wrought greater changes in

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1 their economic social life than any other development
2 induced by Europeans.

3 When the fur trade was
4 effectively over, when the Indians had been reduced by
5 war and epidemics, when Indian lands had been trimmed
6 down to slivers of their former size -- what was there
7 for the Indians then? They had lost a precious thing
8 -- atonomy. They are struggling even today to gain
9 back a few crumbs of control over the destiny that
10 they lost back when the first Indian traded a beaver
11 skin for two biscuits.

12 In the early part of the 20th
13 century there was still some sealing, but soon a
14 bounty was put on seals because fishermen found the
15 seals troublesome. The Passamaquoddy, who could not
16 so easily make a profit at fishing as they could at
17 sealing, were the main losers in this shift in the
18 economy.

19 In the 1950s, two new leaders
20 appeared, who were instrumental in cultivating co-
21 operaton between the two Passamaquoddy reservations
22 and in inaugurating programs independently of the
23 State of Maine.

24 Having gained a measure of
25 control over their own destiny for the first time in
26 200 years with a community action program, the
27 Passamaquoddy had confidence to go on to other things.
28 Their leaders began elbowing their way into different
29 committees that involved their welfare, including the
30 Bureau of Human Relations Services of the Catholic

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In Chief

1 Church, which eventually formed a Division of Indian
2 Services.

3 The Passamaquoddy, like most
4 Indians, want to protect and keep their natural
5 resources, but they also see the possibilities of
6 developing these resources in a way that will not
7 exhaust the environment. Economic concerns are clearly
8 not paramount, however; a recent attempt to locate an
9 oil refinery and oil storage depot on the two reserva-
10 tions was turned down unanimously by both councils,
11 despite offers of large sums, jobs for everyone, and
12 miscellaneous benefits.

13 The tribe would like to develop
14 a recreation area, however.

15 From every angle, tourism is
16 the best economic step, yet it fails to be funded.

17 Until the new land management
18 policy was established after the Georgia Pacific
19 showdown, the Passamaquoddy Trust Fund amounting to
20 \$109,000, was controlled by the State Governor and
21 council, and Indians had no way of knowing how much
22 money was annually received, nor how much was taken out.
23 Indians could not request use of the fund, and indeed
24 very little of it seems to have been spent in their
25 behalf. Now that the Land Management Committee consists
26 of 15 Indians and 3 whites, this picture has changed
27 rather dramatically. The fund is now under the control
28 of the Department of Indian Affairs, and each
29 Passamaquoddy Tribal Council may request up to 40%
30 of the fund if it sees fit, while 20% must remain to

Ruttan, T'Seleie, Stanley
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1 earn interest. Since this new ruling, however, the
2 Passamaquoddy have left the fund almost entirely
3 untouched.

4 The tribe continually faces
5 the problem of receiving funds that make part of a
6 plan operative, but supply no working capital. This
7 has been the fate of the O.E.O.-funded Basket
8 Co-op, for example. Currently the co-op has a machine
9 for pounding ash for basket splints, but there are
10 no funds for getting the machine installed and running,
11 so splints are still pounded by hand. The Tribal
12 Council would probably not sanction the Basket Co-op
13 using Trust Fund money for this, an unproved enterprise,
14 and so the expensive machine sits unused.

15 The idea of savings and
16 investments for an individual family is completely
17 foreign. With or without consumer education, it is
18 doubtful that this aspect of financial management will
19 ever take hold.

20 The only conceivable way around
21 this disinclination to invest would be to write into
22 laws and grant awards the requirement that certain
23 percentages of profits must be ceded back into the
24 enterprise. Even this move would have to be carefully
25 explained and jointly approved by the tribe. Passama-
26 quoddy life has had a "here and now" immediacy that
27 will be eradicated only by many years of prosperity --
28 and "economic development" means something rather dif-
29 ferent on the reservation than it does in Washington,
30 D.C.

Stanley, Tattan, T'Seleie
In Chief

1 Most of the manufactured
2 products of the Passamaquoddy reservation are made
3 at home in cottage industries.

4 Christmas wreaths presently
5 are sold cheaply, but with better contacts, the tribe
6 could probably make a profit.

7 The fur trade is another area
8 where Indians might conceivably increase profits by
9 dealing directly. In addition, if they were trained to
10 tan deer hides as they did in the past, they could
11 afford to manufacture all manner of deer skin items
12 and sell them at a handsome profit.

13 The seafood industry at
14 Pleasant Point could probably be augmented. It was
15 suggested recently that the Pleasant Point Passamaquoddy
16 might also engage in the preparation of biological
17 ocean specimens for educational purposes. So far,
18 nothing has come of this suggestion and nothing will
19 unless the proper equipment and training are made
20 available.

21 There is a greater market for
22 Indian hunting and fishing guides than there are
23 guides.

24 Another potential market is
25 the production and processing of "fiddlehead" ferns
26 which grow along brooks and rivers in the area and
27 are harvested by hand when they are still coiled in
28 "fiddlehead" form. They are laborious to clean but
29 make a delicious gourmet vegetable: bright green,
30 slightly crunch and tasting like delicate asparagus.

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1 They are processed in nearby New Brunswick and sold
2 frozen in standard sized boxes for about 98¢ a box.
3 Gourmet restaurants in New York are the main buyers,
4 in addition to local enthusiasts who can't wait until
5 spring. The Passamaquoddy and Penobscot enthusiastical-
6 ly gather fiddleheads every spring for home consumption
7 for fiddleheads are a native Indian dish. A program
8 to farm, freeze and promote these delicacies would
9 probably produce a good market.

10 The work habits of the Passama-
11 quoddy are geared to periods of intense activity
12 followed by relaxation and enjoyment of the fruits of
13 labor.

14 Despite the criticism of
15 neighboring whites about Indian work habits, production
16 in any Passamaquoddy endeavor goes up in direct
17 relation to the flexibility of the work schedule.

18 Passamaquoddy work patterns
19 also differ from those of whites in that they are
20 oriented toward the present rather than the future.
21 A Passamaquoddy generally works for today to live for
22 today. If anything is put away for the future, it is
23 for a real, soon to be realized future, not a theoretical
24 one. With many people this attitude affects job
25 training incentive. One is what one is, yet everything
26 is subject to change -- one may be something else to-
27 morrow. Thus why train for something one may never
28 become.

29 In actuality, however, many
30 people have had training of some sort and have

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
In Chief

1 successfully used it. Almost always, the accepted
2 training had the immediate reward of an on-the-job
3 training pay.

4 Quick income from short
5 bursts of hard work is available through blueberry
6 raking, potato harvesting and wreath making. Guiding
7 sportsmen also provides seasonal work for a few.
8 The emphasis on seasonal labor has dropped dramatically
9 during the last few years, apparently because of the
10 increase of reservation jobs (low paid but full-time)
11 and also because of the increased availability of
12 transportation which enables Passamaquoddy to visit
13 their Indian friends in Canada any time rather than
14 only at harvest times. Presently, only a small fraction
15 of Passamaquoddy income is from seasonal labor, a
16 definite break with practices of even five years ago.

17 The tribe also has itself
18 as resources. First, in the potentially increased
19 population that should result from better housing,
20 jobs, schools and medical care, which appear to be
21 coming in, and second in the sense that the Passama-
22 quoddy harbor a potential for outstanding craft work
23 evidenced not only by the expert basket work and
24 woodworking, but also in the new crafts that recently
25 have been introduced with considerable show of talent
26 among both young and old. Economic development plans
27 that direct this tendency towards skill in handiwork
28 and craftsmanship could do quite well, provided such
29 plans are approached in total perspective, not piece-
30 meal as they were with the ill-starred Basket Co-op.

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
In Chief

1 The Passamaquoddy are unique
2 among northeastern Indians in the retention of their
3 language and many of their customs, crafts and authentic
4 tribal dances are well known to most tribal members.

5 Recent historical studies
6 are turning up more information on this really
7 interesting tribe and it does seem that an entrepren-
8 eurial mind could make a paying attraction out of
9 this wealth of historic material. A side benefit would
10 be a boost to the morale and pride of the tribe which
11 after years of depletion could well use such a lift.

12 Marine products are gathered
13 at Pleasant Point and one man has a Small Business
14 Administration loan for a lobstering operation.
15 Although he is the only Indian lobstering at present,
16 there has been talk of pressing for exclusive fishing
17 rights off the coast of the reservatiion. If this is
18 accomplished, more might take up lobstering. Another
19 family has two fish weirs and does a fairly good business.

20 The Passamaquoddy provide out-
21 siders with some services such as chair rushing and
22 caning, making wood holders and rustic furniture on
23 order and performing miscellaneous odd jobs and
24 carpentry. But by far the greatest number of services
25 are provided within the tribe on an exchange basis,
26 although cash transactions for services between tribal
27 members are rare.

28 On the day-to-day level there
29 is a complex borrowing system. For example, a person
30 who runs short of bread or sugar may borrow from a

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
In Chief

1 friend or a neighbor but to actively repay this loan
2 in kind would be to degrade the lender.
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In Chief

1 A gauzy network of mutual
2 obligations is thus built up, often crossing traditional
3 faction lines. This borrowing system, then, also serves
4 as a social cement.

5 We have noted various built-
6 in problems in federal programs on the Passamaquoddy
7 reserves. Some of these programmes are the Passamaquoddy's
8 own, some are those of the federal agencies and some
9 belong to both.

10 The agent, welfare, and ADC
11 have all been a part of Passamaquoddy life, and are
12 used like natural resources that must be harvested while
13 available. Federal programmes (which disappear
14 and reappear and change their shape in the night
15 are often seen in this same light, rather than
16 as long range aids to self-determination.

17 Developing management is a
18 problem to be thoughtfully worked out, for a Passamaquoddy
19 can't tell another what to do, no matter what the job
20 descriptionsays.

21 The lineage factions whose
22 competition must be channeled constructively to avoid
23 tugs of war that could ruin a programme. That's not
24 a sentence, I'll have to fix that up.

25 Women's capabilities must be
26 used to a fuller extent. This means training and day-
27 care arrangements.

28 Teenagers are in a never-never
29 land of dropping out and are ineligible for everything
30 going. They are a great disruption on the reservation,

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1 through no fault of their own.

2 Supply never meets demand in the
3 Passamaquoddy market. Although poor, they cannot pro-
4 duce enough goods to meet the market demand.

5 Finally, there are great
6 differences in values among non-native programme planners,
7 as well as differences in judgment over what "failed"
8 and what "succeeded."

9 Now, I'll go to the Pine
10 Ridge study. From Dr. DeMallies's work we learn that
11 federal policy in the 19th century was designed to break
12 up the traditions of the Indians who had been relocated
13 to the Pine Ridge Reservation. A series of actions
14 deprived the Indians of their hunting and fishing resources
15 and of recognition for the Oglala political structure.
16 These actions were designed to convince the Indians
17 that they could neither think nor act for themselves, but
18 must adopt the white man's ways.

19 many of the problems of the
20 reservation seem attributable to the tribal organization.
21 It is an alien form of government that has been forced
22 on the Oglala. The tribal organization has been made
23 to accept administrative responsibility for the whole
24 reservation, but it seems certain that the Oglala do not
25 as a whole believe in a representative form of government.
26 They do not identify with the tribe as a political group
27 and would prefer to run their own affairs at the local
28 level, under the direction of local leaders whose support
29 comes from community faith in their abilities. The
30 tribal government has not been able to gain the support
of the people and the result is what has been called

1 "structural paralysis". There is, however, some con-
2 sensus regarding tribal goals, and a synthesis of
3 tribal objectives prepared in 1971 listed three major
4 areas. Develop tribal lands, provide educational
5 opportunities for the Oglalas and "preserve and revere the
6 cultural heritage of its people".

7 Throughout its history, Pine
8 Ridge has experienced a number of attempts at planned
9 economic development. they have centered on the involve-
10 ment of Oglalas in construction and maintenance work
11 generated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, on agricultural
12 development, both farming and stock raising, and in more
13 recent years, on manufacturing and tourism. In total,
14 vast sums of money have been spent on these projects,
15 but not one of them has generated real economic develop-
16 ment. In the short or long run, many of these programmes
17 have been economically successful in terms of dollars,
18 but none has provided the necessary driving force
19 for meaningful, wide range, long term development.

20 Both Indians and whites are in
21 general agreement as to what development would mean,
22 an economic programme that would put the Oglalas as
23 individuals and as a tribe, emotionally and economically
24 independent of the United States Government, and still
25 allow them to maintain their special identity and
26 privileges as Oglala Sioux Indians. It would represent
27 a logical continuation of Oglala history and would take
28 advantage of the one real resource on the reservation,
29 Oglala Sioux culture and its concomitant social patterns
30 of cooperation, sharing and reciprocity.

However, because of the reality of extended kinship ties, an individual finds any money which he accumulates, is not his own. The moral system of kin relationship demands that an individual share with his relatives or be branded as a sell-out to the white man's way. There is little doubt that this is one contributing factor to the greater relative economic poverty of full blood households as contrasted with mixed bloods, who have adopted white American economic values.

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Largely because the Oglala have never fully participated in the cash economy of the middle west, they lack the skills and concepts necessary to function in such an economic system. Money takes on the aspect of a commodity to be bartered rather than being considered as an asset of fixed value to be accumulated against future need. The concept of an economic surplus is foreign to the Oglala today. Old values, particularly kinship values, remain paramount; money has not found a place in the hierarchy of values.

Although there has been some degree of success in several development efforts since the 1930s, for a variety of reasons none has survived and proven profitable in the long run. In agriculture, part of the problem is the pattern of land ownership. Because of the fractioning of allotments through inheritance over the years, most Oglala own small, widely scattered parcels of land. The only profitable way to use these lands has been by leasing them to cattle-raisers through the B.I.A. (Bureau of Indian Affairs), which has established 346 range units that it leases on an annual basis. Lease payments must be divided among 39,635 ownership interests, which involve some 5,780 individuals. Such a land ownership pattern is entirely uneconomical, and the Realty Office of the B.I.A. reported in 1972 that the tribe was negotiating a \$4 million federal loan for the purpose of complex heirship units.

Because of the poor quality

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of much of the grazing land, it is calculated that one heifer needs 30 or more acres of sustained grazing. It is also estimated that a family needs at least 250 head to provide a minimum income. Even if every acre were utilized, less than half of the population of the reservation would be able to make their livelihood exclusively from the land.

One answer would be the formation of cattle co-operatives. On the basis of past experience, it appears there is only one workable basis for a cattle co-op -- kinship relations.

In manufacturing, there is a plant operated by Sun Bell Corporation of Albuquerque, New Mexico, and producing moccasins and Indian dolls, which has been showing a profit and expanding since taking over an unprofitable factory in 1969. Despite a federally subsidized wage supplement program, and the capital subsidy borne by the Pine Ridge Reservation Development Corporation, the complaint about this plant is its very low wages and slow pay increases. Another problem is having Indians who form it putting them in the uncomfortable position of assuming authority over others, a position very much at odds with the kinship norms of the culture. Some good workers have reportedly refused the higher paying foremen's jobs because they do not want to be in this awkward position.

Other business efforts have suffered from under-capitalization and in the case of a branch bank, from lack of aggressive campaigns to encourage deposits, and lack of convenient banking hours.

In the service sector,

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1 services are inadequate and do not seem to repay the
2 great amount of money put into them. The transporta-
3 tion system is an example -- it is designed to
4 provide roads for school bus routes and for access to
5 off-reservation facilities. A public bus system
6 would allow centralization of services on the
7 reservation, and would encourage reservation business.
8 The inadequacy of education and health care despite
9 large outlays of funds and effort seems to stem from
10 lack of control by the Oglala people themselves in
11 planning and carrying out these services. This is
12 true for the programs of Federal and State Governments,
13 of Tribal Governments, (an organization imposed on
14 the Oglala by the Federal Governm ent), and of private
15 social welfare agencies.

16 Oglala attitudes toward
17 tourism are ambivalent, and unless they evince real
18 enthusiasm for tourism projects, such efforts can
19 hardly succeed.

20 Internally, decentralization
21 appears to be the most likely avenue of success. There
22 is no reason why the Oglala cannot develop lower-level
23 structures after their own models, innovating as they
24 progress. The Crazy Horse Planning Commission has the
25 potential to aid in this development. We have seen that
26 lower-level projects involving smaller groups of
27 people, all of whom are directly and actively represen-
28 ted, probably form the real development potential for
29 the reservation. A strong point is the persistence
30 of the kinship system to provide an organization for

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1 traditionally oriented communities, precisely those
2 which are least likely to successfully use white
3 bureaucratic models. This suggests that the
4 society itself is a basic resource of the reservation.
5 The idea is not new, but practically it has -- it was
6 the development project at Red Shirt Table during the
7 1930s, an experiment that for its time was generally
8 successful. Its downfall was in historical accident --
9 the intervention of World War II, and the fact that
10 the B.I.A. had assumed all the managerial roles.

11 This approach to Pine Ridge
12 development overcomes the traditional problems of lack
13 of tribal unity and clearly stated tribal goals.
14 Allowing each community or self-defined group of
15 any kind the freedom to develop along lines of its
16 own selection, with active support in the form of
17 capital or whatever from the central Tribal Government,
18 would not ensure a uniform economic progress on every
19 part of the reservation. But it would ensure individual
20 dignity, the right of the individual to work for the
21 benefit of his family as he saw fit, and of course,
22 the right of every individual and group to take
23 gambles and make mistakes. Funding such programs might
24 seem to be expensive, but in the long run would probably
25 be cheaper than the present system. What is more
26 important is that it appears as a real remedy for the
27 most deadly social problem on the reservation -- apathy.

28 It is equally clear that no
29 outsiders, whether white or Indian, are in a position
30 to dictate or even to suggest to the people of Pine

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1 Ridge, the lines along which their society should
2 develop. To do so is both a moral wrong and a tacti-
3 cal error.
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1 For the Oglala, development
2 means continuity, developing slowly perhaps, but
3 harmoniously. They have made their choice. From
4 this point of view, the structural paralysis that we
5 have suggested for the reservation has been beneficial.
6 It has served as a mechanism to stall what has
7 frequently been seen as the inevitable final result, the
8 destruction of the Oglala as a culture, the stripping
9 of a people of their identity.

10 Now I go to the Cherokee
11 summary. Albert L. Wahrhaftig reports that although
12 material resources -- bottom lands, mineral, timber --
13 have almost entirely passed into the hands of whites,
14 economic growth in eastern Oklahoma is based on exploi-
15 tation of a final Cherokee resource -- the Cherokees
16 themselves.

17 The Cherokee way of life is
18 to live in a small, autonomous settlement. As far
19 back into the past as Cherokees can be traced,
20 this has been the case and it is true today. The
21 number, size and total population of Cherokee settle-
22 ments in Oklahoma now correspond closely to the
23 number, size and population of Cherokee settlements
24 observed during the 1700's in the Cherokees' native
25 environment, the mountains of the southeastern United
26 States. Until the 1930's, each Cherokee settlement
27 was a subsistence unit, producing and consuming what
28 it needed from lands available to all Cherokees.

29 In the 1700's, community
30 work groups were observed in the old Cherokee towns.

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1 This same communal organization of men who tilled the
2 fields also rapidly erected both private and public
3 dwellings in the town and the men of one town or
4 neighborhood frequently helped those of the next.

5 During the next two centuries,
6 the structure of the Cherokee "town" altered consider-
7 ably as did the organization of the community work
8 group.

9 The Oklahoma Cherokees
10 persisted in following the tradition of settlement
11 work parties as a primary means of crop production
12 although no one knows for how long or how intensively.
13 Town work was a characteristic of the Cherokee "pioneer
14 economy" in Oklahoma. Thereafter, the gadoogie became
15 an occasion as opposed to an organization. Oklahoma
16 Cherokees use the word to mean a work party called
17 together to accomplish some specific task, usually
18 with the expectation that the work will be accompanied
19 by a feast collectively prepared by the workers'
20 women. Now, the gadoogie remains in the background of
21 Cherokee settlement life, dealing with crises as a
22 form of disaster relief to be called upon when the
23 primary economy fails. This is possible because the
24 population of the settlement is so related that they
25 can "fall together" when called out.

26 Not long ago, Cherokee
27 settlements were economically self-sufficient. The
28 Cherokees brought to the west a knowledge of farming as
29 well as hunting, fishing and plant collecting.

30 Cherokee subsistence farming

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1 settlements later were boxed in by farms leased to
2 white men. Over-population, over-farming, and over-
3 exploitation of the woods destroyed the environment and
4 the last possibilities for Cherokee economic self-
5 sufficiency. The process of encapsulation and destruc-
6 tion of economic self-sufficiency has not yet run its
7 course.

8 The Cherokees are now depend-
9 ent on wages from the lowest paying, most menial jobs
10 and must commute long distances to them.

11 There remains a network of
12 person-to-person relationships within a Cherokee
13 settlement that is a pathway for an efficient distribu-
14 tion of resources and labor through sharing. So long
15 as these person-to-person relationships do not break
16 down, the Cherokees are not so poor as they might be.
17 When there is freedom to do^{so}, Cherokees still work
18 communally. All summer long, people gather to -- band
19 together to pick strawberries, peas, beans, tomatoes
20 and huckleberries. Each worker, even those who are
21 children keeps his own wages and spends them as he
22 pleases.

23 In the more common circumstance
24 where communal labor is not possible, the Cherokee
25 adaptation to wage labor is nevertheless based on
26 intricate chains of reciprocal services that may
27 include the whole of a settlement.

28 While these pervasive co-
29 operative arrangements enable Cherokees to earn and
30 survive on their meager wages, the adaptation is

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1 difficult and it is continually jeopardized. The
2 priority whites place on dependability and punctuality
3 on the job conflicts with the priority Cherokees place
4 on dependability and punctuality in responding to the
5 needs of their companions. As whites are ignorant
6 of the kind of Cherokee relationships just described
7 and as these are also "taken for granted" by Cherokees
8 and therefore exist below the threshold of conscious
9 awareness, Cherokees would find it difficult to explain
10 themselves to their white employers even if these
11 employers would listen.

12 In the Cherokee settlement
13 most exposed to white lifestyles, the standard of
14 living was a little lower and the amount of welfare
15 assistance required for even that level of living was
16 far greater.

17 In 1965, members of the
18 settlement at Hulbert independently made a survey of
19 their own economic needs in hope of receiving funds
20 through the proposed community action program of the
21 Office of Economic Opportunity. Although these plans
22 did not work out, Cherokees around Hulbert are now
23 the backbone of a feeder-pig marketing co-operative
24 sponsored by Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity.

25 While Cherokees have been
26 able to utilize the strengths of their shared settle-
27 ment life in order to survive in the white man's eastern
28 Oklahoma, this has nothing to do with the life Cherokees
29 want for themselves. Cherokees want autonomy, indepen-
30 dece and economic self-sufficiency. They had tried

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1 consistently to retain these goals for the last 160
2 years and they are still trying. Cherokee attempts to
3 regain self-sufficiency have followed one of two
4 avenues; migration or development of a self-sufficient
5 community within the State of Oklahoma.
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One direction the Cherokees take in their attempts to live according to their own wishes involves bolstering their present settlement. Not a day goes by without a scheme for some form of collective production being debated in a Cherokee settlement somewhere in the Cherokee nation. There is perennial talk about consolidating land, either by getting people to combine adjacent allotments or by selling restricted lands and using the proceeds to buy large tracts for communal use. On this land base, the Cherokees involved then propose some additional means of earning an income.

The Cherokee nation now is the scene of a one-sided battle over the shape of the Cherokees' future. On one side is the Cherokee establishment, backed by heavy political and financial commitments from federal bureaucracies. It moves towards centralizing power, toward expanding towns into cities filled with industries and blue collar Cherokee populations, towards emptying the forests of farmers and transforming them into profitable vacation lands. The establishment insists that funds for the aid of Cherokees be expanded in projects that are tangible and showy, that attract a "good press" and can stand as monuments to responsible leadership and minority advancement. Its emphasis is on further development of a unitary society in which each person has equal opportunity to make something of himself, so long as he compliantly starts from his existing position in the local caste structure.

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Working in opposition to this current are occasional groups and persons with a different vision of appropriate development for the region. They suspect that one of the strengths of the region may turn out to be its inability to support industry and concentrations of workers, and that this limitation may eventually stimulate small communities, whatever their ethnicity, to support themselves through diversity of economic specialties. A society that is decentralized and culturally plural is intolerable to the Cherokee establishment, for it implies that Cherokee settlements are viable and that tribal Cherokees now, without further "leadership" and grooming, are competent to make decisions for themselves. Whenever proponents of the autonomy and viability of small communities emerge, the Cherokee establishment moves to neutralize their effects by discrediting them, buying them off, or co-opting them.

The Cherokee establishment will not countenance development that recognizes the economic potential and cultural permanence of Cherokee settlements, even when that development is entirely under its control.

Tribal Cherokees are beginning to talk back through the system of community representatives. Although community representatives were installed in order that "the tribe" might communicate its wishes to Cherokee settlements, members of some Cherokee settlements are pressuring their representatives

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1 to "go to Tahlequah and speak up." Cherokee settle-
2 ments have occasionally sent along extra observers
3 to make sure that their representative says what
4 they want said.

5 As a body, community repre-
6 sentatives have spoken out against a number of
7 "giveaways" proposed by tribal officials.

8 Community representatives
9 are reaching for the reins of governm ent, believing
10 it only natural that the authority of the Cherokee
11 settlement has belatedly been recognized.

12 At present, Cherokees have
13 neither power nor education nor much wealth. What they
14 do have are strong, resilient, and intact communities,
15 and a vivid sense of the kind of cultural and economic
16 re-development they expect to attain. Cherokee
17 settlements -- socially cohesive, and rich in tradi-
18 tional motivations -- are entities that would develop
19 economically rapidly now as they did in the past. Yet
20 Cherokee settlements cannot develop along these lines
21 without jeopardizing the Cherokee establishment's
22 exploitation of Cherokee labor and the Cherokee
23 presence. Until recently, the expansion of the Cherokee
24 establishment has been benign. Its further expansion
25 will be against the grain of dogged resistance^{from Cherokee settlement} which
26 are formulating independent views of development that
27 do not include their own use as a natural resource.

28 Now I'll summarize the
29 Papago monograph. The Papago monograph is a joint
30 project of an anthropologist (Fontana) and two Papagos

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(Juliann Ramon and Henry Manual). They utilized a case study approach to economic development on the Papago Reservation over the past 16 years. The record is a dismal one -- 13 cases and 12 failures, measured by Papago criteria. In making their point, the authors review the history of the Papago tribe from western contact to modern times. They graphically detail the manner in which a large amorphous group of people occupying a contiguous land mass in Southern Arizona and Northern Mexico, were first separated by a political boundary and then told (on this side of the line) to organize themselves as a political entity. This has been a common experience for tribal peoples, but few non-tribals realize what extraordinary demands and hardships it imposes. One can almost predict the factionalism and bewilderment which follows attempts to organize a people along lines and principles which are both unknown and reprehensible to them.

The record of the 12 failures is, on the one hand, a testimonial to the tenaciousness of non-Indians in pushing their view of the world, while on the other hand it documents the deep resistance which Papagos have to those views. Again, it is not a question of resistance to change; it is resistance to performing acts that are contrary to their own view of correct behavior. They cannot act in un-Papago ways.

There is a pattern which characterizes the way in which economic development makes its appearance on the reservation. A development

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1 project is proposed either by or to the Bureau of
2 Indian Affairs. The Bureau may then take an active
3 role in persuading the Tribal Council to act, or it
4 may (as in leasing) go to individual allottees and
5 gather the requisite signatures. Eventually the project
6 reaches a point where some Papago begin to question it.
7 those who press for answers do not receive explanations
8 but are told to either accept the money or lose it.
9 Alternatives and clarification of the issues and their
10 implications are not offered. The usual result is
11 that people take the money without ever understanding
12 or feeling involved with the project. Papago remain in
13 the dark about complex legal and economic matters
14 because no one will undertake to explain them. As
15 long as this is the case, there is very little chance
16 that they will be able to participate meaningfully
17 in the development of their own resources.

18 The authors of the Papago
19 monograph point out that Papagos have been burnt
20 so often by schemes of outsiders that they inevitably
21 react negatively to each new proposal. They have
22 come to fear the unexpected changes which follow
23 the introduction of new projects. It would appear
24 that any development on the Papago Reservation must
25 proceed slowly and must be very well understood by
26 the Papago people.

27 Now I'll summarize the Navajo.
28 The Navajo manuscript is the only account in this
29 series by an economist -- Lorraine Ruffing. Her work
30 is based on the hypothesis that Indian culture may

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1 contain institutions which could perform economic
2 tasks carried out by different institutions in western
3 society. If free enterprise was anathema to Navajo, then
4 what about a co-operative economic system? To learn
5 more about Navajo economy, Dr. Ruffing went to
6 live for a few months at Shonto. She interviewed
7 numerous Navajo and had an opportunity to observe
8 and note their economic activities. She was also able
9 to compare her work with another study of Shonto done
10 in 1955 by Richard Adams, an anthropologist who
11 worked at the trading post. The results are instruc-
12 tive.

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1 Dr. Ruffing finds that the
2 basic production unit of the Navajo is the extended
3 local kin group that occupies a particular territory.
4 In this area, they graze their sheep and other livestock.
5 The sheep provide wool, cash, hides and meat for the
6 extended kin group. This has been a successful
7 adaptation since the days of Spanish contact, and it is
8 complimented by agriculture, especially the growing of
9 corn.

10 Together, with the traditional
11 subsistence activities, there is federal assistance, under
12 a number of guises, plus some industrial employment and
13 income from leases. To some, the newer sources of income
14 represent the future, yet Ruffing questions the extent to
15 which they maximize Navajo economic development opportunities
16 Her statistical tables suggest that leasing of mineral
17 rights is not necessarily the most economically
18 advantageous policy for the tribe to follow.

19 Navajo culture is antithetical
20 to western capitalistic entrepreneurship. Capitalism
21 involves assumptions about the relationship of man to
22 man, man to nature and man to the processes of production,
23 and these assumptions are foreign to the Navajo.

24 In searching for an alternative
25 economic model, Dr. Ruffing advocates expansion of the
26 traditional economic activities of the Navajo. The advantage
27 of her suggestions is that it would use the most abundant
28 resources, land and labour. It would cushion the fluctua-
29 tions of temporary wage labour by providing an important
30 supplement, stock raising, and it would take advantage of

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1 the existing investments and knowledge which involve
2 the majority of the population.

3 Such a development would also
4 involve existing production units with a long tradition
5 of doing the job. She also suggests that a cooperative
6 livestock marketing programme could be established and
7 run by the tribe.

8 Economic development efforts
9 should place emphasis on the continuity of Navajo social
10 institutions over time and their close interconnections
11 with traditional economic activities. Their inter-
12 dependence is such that changes in one will have
13 serious repercussions in the other.

14 Now, I'll go to the Morongo
15 summary.

16 Lowell John Bean asserts that
17 chief among factors in the development policy of the
18 Morongo band are preservation of their privacy and
19 protection of the tribal lands and resources from
20 exploitation by outsiders. Therefore, any efforts to
21 stimulate new enterprises must meet the requirement that
22 all decisions affecting tribal resources or affairs be
23 voted upon and passed by a majority before they can
24 become legal. This guarantees that each individual member
25 of the tribe has a decision making role, in contrast to
26 delegating decision making powers to the elected council.

27 The Morongo are particularly
28 resentful of regulations imposed from outside the reserva-
29 tion, and are managing tribal affairs with lessening reliance
30 on federal agencies.

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One goal, in the Morongo Economic Development Committee report is that of an "increased identity as Indians, as band members and as individuals".

Although privacy is a primary value, this does not impede planning for future economic development, since industrially zoned lands are available at a considerable distance from the residential community. The inevitability of increased numbers of people in and around the reservation is understood, as are the economic advantages that are generally sought after.

The Malki Fruit Association, which operated for 20 years is one example given of the band's adaptation of traditional ways to new conditions. Following division of the tribal lands into individual allotments which were too small for the commercial farming that had been carried on, this association was formed so that small land owners could pool their resources and overcome the disadvantage of the small allotments. (The allotments had been encouraged by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and by Moravian missionaries.)

The association hired seasonal labourers, brought hauling equipment, built drying sheds, work platforms and processing facilities and arranged for financing and shipping. It was managed by two traditionalists who objected to BIA interference in reservation affairs and continued until the age of the managers and an increasingly difficult marketing situation forced discontinuance.

The history of commercial

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1 agriculture at Morongo demonstrates that management and
2 marketing capability have always been available and that
3 economic success has been vigorous under Indian manage-
4 ment when there was an opportunity to exploit a reserva-
5 tion resource profitably. Cooperation and innovative
6 strategy were clearly manifest in the agricultural arena.
7 The Cattlemen's Association also is an example of successful
8 Morongo cooperative activity.

9 The conclusion is that the
10 Morongo have demonstrated a century of successful and
11 profitable organizational skills, despite impediments
12 and interferences from the larger society, and these
13 successes are directly associated with Indian leadership
14 and participation, with Indians in firm control of the
15 decision making process. The Morongo want to maintain
16 the reservation as an exclusive Morongo Indian domain,
17 with profit and control of economic development remaining
18 in the community.

19 Now, I'll summarize the
20 Lummi account.

21 One of Vine Deloria, Jr.'s
22 major contentions is that the most necessary component
23 of modern economic development is proper appreciation
24 for the lands on which Indian people live. After many
25 years of encroachment and depletion of their resources
26 by whites, the Lummi Indian tribe was left with only
27 the land that lay exposed between low tide and high
28 tide, a mud flat. Yet, clinging to this mere fragment
29 of aboriginal existence, the tribe conceived one of
30 the most advanced programmes any community has ever

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1 created. Other Indian tribes too, should learn to view
2 their land as peculiarly adapted for certain activities.
3 Instead of setting land aside for programmes, programmes
4 should be tailored around the land.

5 The most notable aspect of the
6 Lummi political structure appears to have been the
7 absence of authoritarianism. I might add here, parentheti-
8 cally, that that is characteristic, I think, of all
9 the Indian tribes that I know of. Family heads came
10 to direct the fortunes of Lummi bands by example
11 and personal influence, rather than solely by formal
12 acknowledgment of authority.

13 The social and political life
14 of the tribe revolved about its fishing activities.
15 Fish were caught by reef netting, a unique method
16 developed by the Indians of the area, in midsummer and
17 early fall, in the waters around Lummi Island and
18 Point Francis.. Reef nets were made of logs and twisted
19 bark ropes and the stationary fishing sites were owned by
20 family heads as individual enterprises. Family heads
21 gathered men in their immediate family group into
22 crews that worked for each fishing season, dividing the
23 catch according to previously agreed formulas.

24 A large weir was maintained where
25 the Lummi River originally drained into the waters of
26 the Gulf of Georgia, at the end of the similarly named
27 strait, while the salmon were running upstream to spawn.
28 Weir fishing was apparently a communal rather than an
29 individual venture.

30 There was little commercial

1 exchange among the coastal villages. The various species
2 of salmon provided people with everything they needed
3 economically.

4 The weir at the mouth of the
5 Lummi River apparently established a sense of communal
6 ownership of economic functions. When private property
7 was introduced through allotments, the Lummi continued
8 to recognize a communally centered function in fishing,
9 relying on their memories of village existence and
10 the annual salmon runs.

11 The fur trade rather profoundly
12 affected the coastal villages. They began supplying
13 salmon, vegetables, and other foodstuffs to the trading
14 posts, in exchange for metal implements, blankets and
15 other manufactured articles. Indians began to cultivate
16 small plots of potatoes and to establish an ongoing
17 relationship with the whites at Fort Langley and later
18 Victoria.

The Lummi people may have become established in the role of commerical food producers at this time. The important influences of the fur trade on subsistence patterns was that the Lummi people themselves developed the idea of raising vegetables for sale to the whites. Concluding that food production was a sensible^{way} of expanding their trading relationships, the people undertook to develop this entree into the economic system. They did not however believe that expansion into agricultural production would make total cultural change inevitable.

Farming was at best a marginal operation since it could not support an expanding population and it required an increasingly complex investment in machines and techniques, both far beyond the financial and educational means of the Indians who had been limited to allotments of 40 acres by the Coke Act. Lummi farming success had crested by 1891 or 1893. Reports became less optimistic and it became increasingly obvious that the Lummi people were indeed fishermen, not farmers.

Fishing remains the favorite occupation of the Lummi people. In their early contacts with whites, they provided fish oil for use as a lubricant in lumbering and they continued to fish for this purpose. Large companies began to establish fish canneries along the northwest coast of upper Washington the 1880's. The Lummis sold their fish to the companies and also worked in the canneries. In 1893, the canneries at Semiahmoo and Point Roberts

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employed 140 Indians.

During the 1960's, the fishing industry, like other technical occupations began improving its equipment and thus increased the cost of operating a boat far beyond the limited financial resources of the average Lummi. It was obvious that the Lummis could not afford to compete with whites who had access to capital for the purchase of boats and equipment. Left to the mercy of the canning companies, most of the Lummi went broke and lost their boats. Some continued to fish -- not as boat owners, but as hired men for corporate boats.

"The elimination of the purse seine fleet from the Lummi fishing economy was nothing short of catastrophic",
according^{to} one observer.

Efforts to develop the Lummi knitters, weavers and arts and crafts were initiated by the BIA. These projects yielded very little income however. As the tribe explored alternatives, two choices were discussed. One was based on the white economy: a corporation wanted to build a magnesium oxide reduction plant at Lummi Bay. The traditional fishing grounds the tribe had fought so hard to protect would be ruined by pollution from the plant. The other alternative was based on traditional Lummi activity: aquaculture.

The final factor in the tribe's decision to undertake the aquacultural project was probably the feature of community control, combined

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1 with the deep desire to maintain the reservation as a
2 source of community life.

3 Another distinguishing factor
4 of the Lummi project was the early development of a
5 powerful and responsible political team as key figures.
6 Sam Cagey and Vernon Lane assumed political control of
7 the Lummi Indian Business Council in 1968 and worked
8 in tandem to push the development. The two complimented
9 each other to an amazing degree, were singularly devoted
10 to the total development of the tribe, spent every
11 waking hour working out the details of the project,
12 and if any dissension existed between them, kept
13 personal matters out of sight. They inspired everyone
14 to continue to support aquaculture and also formed
15 a devastating political front that was united against
16 all critics, white and Indian.

17 The Lummi business council
18 designed and directed the project and used non-Indian
19 experts to provide the needed technical skills. Its
20 goal however was to train Lummi people for every job
21 that the project would produce. Thus, the technical
22 experts employed by the tribe were directed from the
23 beginning to train Lummis to replace them. Lummis
24 have used the technical skills of non-Indians and the
25 non-Indians who have had the sense to recognize the
26 strong --

27 Let me start that sentence
28 over again if I may. Lumis have used the technical
29 skills of non-Indians and the non-Indians who have had
30 the sense to recognize the strong tribal desire to

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1 conduct its own business, have remained in the back-
2 ground as advisers.

3 In order to keep aquaculture
4 separate from the political struggles of the
5 tribe, a new organization -- a new vehicle for
6 economic and community development -- was created in
7 1969 to handle the expanded business functions of the
8 tribe.

9 The Lummi Indian Tribal Enter-
10 prise (Hereafter referred to as LITE) is seen by the
11 Lummi as an innovative type of community development
12 corporation. The initial board of LITE consisted of
13 five members appointed by the Lummi Indian Business
14 Council to serve for a term of three years. To ensure
15 that the two bodies worked together, the vice-chairman
16 of the Tribal Business Council was appointed to the
17 LITE Board. The LITE Board has usually elected the
18 vice-chairman to the position of chairman of its
19 board. In 1972, the LITE Board was expanded to seven
20 members, thereby including two non-Lummi business
21 experts who are expected to give professional advice
22 on decisions involving substantial technical problems.

23 One of the most unique aspects
24 of the overall development at the Lummi reservation
25 is the manner in which the various needs of the people
26 have been considered. The emphasis has not been not
27 been placed totally on development of aquaculture.
28 Training programs have tended to look into the future
29 and balance community needs in other areas with the
30 specific needs of aquaculture and related activities.

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1 One of the training programs
2 has been the development of skilled carpenters through
3 a grant from the Manpower Development Training
4 Administration.

5 Another training program was
6 designed to help Lummi people gain the experience
7 in office and clerical skills.

8 Present plans call for the
9 creation of a Lummi construction company to sub-
10 contract for the building of 150 new homes, houses which
11 have been authorized for the reservation.

12 Although aquaculture remains
13 a major project at Lummi, the trend is presently
14 to search out subsidiary occupations that will support
15 total community development, will, in addition provide
16 services that previously had been unavailable to tribal
17 members.

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1 LITE plans to use some of its
2 income as a recycling loan fund to support the
3 development of small businesses on the reservation
4 where the Lummi people live. In addition, Board members
5 visualize smaller water-oriented enterprises deriving
6 from the investment mix of aquaculture income and LITE
7 loans to individual members.

8 The major --

9 MR. GOUDGE: Before Dr. Stanley
10 goes on, I wonder if you're planning to have a coffee
11 break this morning. He's been going some time.

12 MR. BELL: Perhaps he could
13 go till the end of the Lummi section.

14 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, I
15 thought we should go to --

16 MR. BELL: He's near the end,
17 just two more pages.

18 MR. GOUDGE: I'm sorry.

19 THE COMMISSIONER: -- where
20 you begin your analysis, I take it you should reach
21 that today.

22 A O.K., I'll read this
23 as quickly as I can.

24 THE COMMISSIONER: No, no, no,
25 take your time, we've got lots of time.

26 MR. GOUDGE: It's all right,
27 Dr. Stanley, I just saw a few people bring coffee
28 cups back in, and I can hardly contain myself.

29 A I just have these
30 two pages.

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1 THE COMMISSIONER: Go ahead,
2 sir.

3 A. The major and immediate
4 danger facing the Lummi people and the aquaculture
5 project is that federal agencies will not recognize
6 their responsibility to continue funding the project
7 at reasonable support levels so that the project can
8 survive. Historically, there have been many instances
9 of agencies providing seed money, and then withdrawing
10 support before the project has become self-supporting.
11 The result has been that the projects have collapsed
12 and the seed money has been wasted.

13 The use of human resources
14 of other tribes, if anything is to be learned from the
15 Lummi experience, must be closely related to the con-
16 ception that the tribe has of itself, culturally and
17 historically. It must correspond to what people
18 remember as being the best in their community life,
19 at that point at which memories are most vivid.
20 Without this factor, it is doubtful that any lasting
21 success can be made with proposed developments to
22 assist the tribe.

23 Management, as practiced by
24 the Lummis, has entailed properly identifying what the
25 community is, rather than merely training people to
26 fulfill certain functions. Lummi people who were
27 considered failures in the non-Indian education system,
28 who had been losers in the economic competition of
29 non-Indian society, have assumed very complicated
30 responsibilities in the aquaculture project and have

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1 handled them with amazing expertise. The development
2 of aquaculture, as previously noted, was not originally
3 an effort to exploit the tidelands. It was an attempt
4 to find an activity that could be conducted there
5 without damaging the environment. In Lummi aquaculture
6 the tides, not pumps, circulate water through the
7 ponds; every natural force that can be applied is
8 favored over mechanical devices.

9 Instead of categorizing Lummi
10 aquaculture as a profit-making venture, one could more
11 adequately characterize it as a generating source of
12 development and social service funds. At no foresee-
13 able time in the future will the excess produced by
14 aquaculture be available for investment or distribution
15 to tribal members. Rather, it will continue to provide
16 funds for community and individual development.
17 The LITE Board has already projected the expenditure
18 of what could be called surplus funds into a revolving
19 loan fund, to ensure that sufficient jobs will be avail-
20 able for all Lummis who want to live and work on the
21 reservation. Aquaculture must provide surplus funds
22 to make the entire Lummi development plan come to
23 fruition. However, the profit motive as traditionally
24 known is not a significant factor in the Lummi community.

25 Some Indian tribes presently
26 have sufficient income from oil and gas royalties or
27 timber stumpage to distribute their funds on a per
28 capita basis. This type of tribal income distribution
29 is probably the closest comparison to traditionally
30 conceived profit ventures that can be found in Indian

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country. The Lummi conception of community-generated
and supporting funds should certainly be considered
by other tribes seeking a long-term community devel-
opment.

I will stop there.

THE COMMISSIONER: Right.

Well, we'll break for a few minutes.

(QUALIFICATIONS & EVIDENCE OF S. STANLEY

MARKED EXHIBIT 681)

(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR A FEW MINUTES)

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(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: Shall we come to order, ladies and gentlemen and carry on with Mr. Stanley's paper. All right sir.

WITNESS STANLEY: All right, thank you Judge.

I turn now to an analysis of the monographs that I've been summarizing. With seven examples, it should be possible to discover common factors which might hold for all Indian tribes as well. Even if the projection is not universal, this sample must be representative of well over half of the Indian tribes in North America.

The analysis has tried to focus upon the specific socio-economic circumstances of each group studied. There are many commonalities. All have been conquered militarily or forced by other means to give up their sovereignty to the United States. Have maintained their identity and asserted its uniqueness throughout historical time, have been forced to cope with strange and startling changes in their traditional relationship to their environments; have been compelled to establish very foreign systems of political organization in order to survive. The same holds in different degrees for adaptation from religious, social and economic perspective. All have suffered a severe loss of land with little or no understanding of how it happened or why, have had to deal with faceless bureaucracies that have dipped deeply into their daily lives; have had to recognize daily that they have had little or no control over

There are doubtless many other commonalities shared by Indian tribes throughout the United States, but these are the most obvious. They testify to a series of shared experiences and relationships which Indians have had vis-a-vis the expansion of the United States government. The single most common relationship is that of negotiated treaties, though not all tribes have this sort of formal connection with the federal government. Whether or not an Indian community has a treaty can be a very crucial factor in economic development.

Setting aside, for the moment, the commonalities of the seven studies, it is instructive to see what some share and others do not and in what way they effect the economic development. The reader will see that the outstanding "success" to date has been achieved by the Lummi Indians of Washington State. This coastal group has characteristics in common with two of the other tribes in our study, the Passamaquoddy and the Morongo. All are small in total population and land base. Each, of course, speaks a completely unrelated

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1 language, on the order of difference between Bantu,
2 German, and Chinese. They have some other important
3 things in common. Morongo and Lummi have related to the
4 BIA, but never in a close supervisory manner. Passama-
5 quoddy has had to deal with, until recently, a state
6 apparatus which pretty much ignored them. Hence, all
7 three of these groups appear to have had minimum help
8 or interference from legal representations of the larger
9 society. At the same time, each of these groups has
10 remained small enough to maintain community control over
11 its leadership. As social groups they have always
12 relied on face to face interaction in order to function
13 and they have maintained this mode into the present.
14 Each has a sense of what the community can do and
15 wants to do as well as what it will reject. The Lummi
16 refused programmes that would have turned them into
17 farmers, into wage earners, city people and cottage
18 industry craftsmen. Yet, as soon as aquaculture was
19 proposed, they embraced it as a meaningful activity,
20 consistent with their own view of themselves. In a
21 word, it was an undertaking which spoke to the heart of
22 the community.

23 Similarly, the Passamaquoddy,
24 though desperately poor, refused to participate in an
25 office of Economic Opportunity programme unless they could
26 do it in their own way. They rejected \$100,000.00 until
27 the OEO came to its senses and agreed to let them do it
28 as they saw best. No one should be surprised at the high
29 rating which their programme received the following year.

30 These are examples of Indians

1 being permitted to develop in their own way on their
2 own reasonable terms at their own pace with results
3 satisfactory to all. The Morongo are another example
4 of this.
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After months of painstaking effort by their Planning Committee, they turned down an Economic Development Administration offer to finance their efforts. True, they could have used the money, yet the community did not feel comfortable with it. This is not to say that they are against improving their own standard of living, but rather that they cannot do anything which will violate their own sense of themselves. The smaller tribes are a special case in that they still maintain traditional Indian values, especially those associated with face-to-face relationships. They are little communities with integrity that reach far back into the past. When everything else is forgotten, they will still remember how to behave to one another.

The remaining four tribes differ from those already discussed ^{on} several accounts. First, they are much larger in population and in tribal and individually allotted land. Secondly they all related to the Federal Government by means of treaty or executive order. Thirdly, they are all amalgamations of smaller, in many cases, disparate units sharing only a language in common. Fourth, they are all governed by a system which is foreign and does not respond readily to their notions about how man should relate politically one to another.

At Pine Ridge, there is a clear division between the "breeds" and the "full bloods". In this case, the former have traditionally controlled the tribal government, as established under

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1 under the Indian Reorganization Act after 1936. Full-
2 bloods were aware of this situation but have always re-
3 garded it as a way of dealing with whites. In effect,
4 they gave power to the "breeds" to deal with the U.S.
5 Government because the breeds understood the English
6 language better and would keep the "Feds, et. al."
7 off their backs. The meaning of Wounded Knee, 1973
8 is to be sought in precisely these terms. The tribal
9 leadership of Richard Wilson was not successfully
10 keeping the whites at bay. In fact, its leadership
11 became a threat to the full-bloods. Hence, in despera-
12 tion, they called for the American Indian Movement.

13 Dr. DeMallie in his paper
14 points out that the bureaucracy, most tellingly
15 represented by the BIA, has been one of the single
16 most pervasive institutions in hindering development on
17 Pine Ridge. The formal relationships which characterize
18 the federal bureaucracy are foreign to American Indian
19 experience. Indians have little or no experience in
20 relating to such faceless and impersonal, albeit
21 powerful, organizations. Where Indians from disparate
22 backgrounds have been put together and declare a "tribe"
23 as in the case of Pine Ridge, there is clearly trouble
24 ahead. If one adds the authority of a BIA and loss
25 of any real autonomy by Indians, then we can begin
26 to understand why Pine Ridge Sioux have had such a
27 difficult time getting on their feet. In a sense,
28 bureaucracy is a disease that is difficult to transmit
29 to Indians but when they catch it, they are often
30 rendered more bureaucratic than their donors. As Dr.

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DeMallie points out, most non-Indians have had considerable experience with bureaucracies and know how to look for the "give" in them. After all, they created them.

The distinction between full-bloods and other legal members of the tribe is very marked with the Oklahoma Cherokee. Again, the full-bloods are effectively cut off from the actual administration of any tribal affairs. In one sense, this is in the nature of the case. Communication between people who speak different languages is almost impossible. The situation becomes insidious when one realizes that the full-bloods have no interpreters and the officers of the tribe can speak freely without fear of contradiction from the full-bloods. It is a serious problem and vitally effects the economic development of the Oklahoma Cherokee full-bloods.

Professor Wahrhaftig's analysis focuses on the exploitation of the full-bloods as part and parcel of the power system of eastern Oklahoma. In his view, the full-bloods are both a cheap source of labor and their "tribalness" is an asset which attracts tourists and federal dollars for programs which will "relieve" their dire financial position. These dollars turn up in the pockets of establishment of whites and "legal" but not tribal Cherokee.

From the full-blood point of view, the Cherokee "government" is another white man's institution for doing something to them. If something (like housing) comes from them, then it is

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1 seen as some kind of white payment to the Cherokee for
2 a part of what has previously been taken from them.
3 In a word, their present government is "illegal" when
4 set in the context of their own ideas about Cherokee
5 political institutions. They know that the laws of
6 the Cherokee people predate those of the whites. Only
7 adherence to those laws will enable them to continue
8 as a people. Obviously white man's laws are different
9 and to follow them is not to be Cherokee. This
10 in essence is their position vis-a-vis legal Cherokee
11 who are not full-bloods.

12 The Papago people also have
13 a problem with their tribal council, although it is
14 not nearly as acute as the Cherokee and Sioux cases.
15 Fontana, Manuel and Ramon make it clear in their
16 paper that it is more in the communication between
17 tribal council and people that a problem arises. Even
18 more specifically, there is the problem of communication
19 between the former tribal lawyer and the council and
20 between the BIA superintendent and the council. The
21 council, which is a representative body, finds itself
22 pressured into making decisions on questions which it
23 would like to understand better. If they feel uneasy,
24 imagine how the people living in the areas which
25 councilmen represent must feel about the projects which
26 mysteriously arise from time to time. As Manual, et.
27 al. point out, most of the people simply do not under-
28 stand what is happening. The Papago "track record" bears
29 this out -- 11 failures out of 12 cases. Once
30 again, a foreign form of government has been imposed

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1 upon a group of people who have never before functioned
2 as a cohesive political unit. They are not only told
3 to act together; they are admonished to be competent,
4 representative, and to deal quickly with the complexi-
5 ties of the modern, powerful, white industrial world.
6 Perhaps too much is expected too soon.

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1 The one successful Papago
2 case of economic development is instructive. A sophis-
3 ticated tribal member returned to the reservation
4 after several years in Los Angeles. He leased land,
5 bought cattle, drilled a well and built a home. In
6 1967 he went into the landscaping business. With the
7 aid of an ingenious machine, constructed from spare
8 parts, he made fences by splitting and planting the
9 long slender branches of acotillo. After planting,
10 the fence sprouts leaves and becomes quite dense.
11 This Papago entrepreneur, Edward Kisto, now has jobs
12 throughout the Tucson area and always hires fellow
13 Papago to carry out the work.

14 Though Kisto would not
15 conceptualize his work as economic development, it
16 certainly would fit the definition. The lesson of his
17 enterprise is clear; he brought an idea to the resour-
18 ces of his environment; the result has been a near
19 monopoly in processing a natural resource and employ-
20 ment opportunities for Papagos. There is a continuity
21 to this kind of development which deserves to be
22 replicated for all Indians.

23 The Navajo tribe is the
24 largest in population and land holding. It possesses
25 mineral resources and since World War II, it has been
26 moving toward industrialization. The pace has not been
27 rapid and aside from the sawmill, industrial develop-
28 ment has been mostly directed by whites. Dr. Ruffing
29 makes two important points about the Navajo. She
30 argues that development programs which do not take

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1 account of the interdependence of Navajo social
2 structure and economy, entail heavy social and
3 economic costs. There are human costs as well, since
4 programs which are inconsistent with Navajo values
5 and identity would not only take a heavy toll but
6 they would surely fail. For this reason she urges
7 that more consideration be given to strengthening
8 and updating the traditional economic base. Specif-
9 ically, stock raising and farming, through support of
10 residence groups and organization of livestock co-
11 operatives.

12 The second point which she
13 makes concerns the whole complex of development and
14 exploitation of mineral resources on the reservation.
15 She points out, following Aberle, that Navajos are
16 deriving little income by collecting lease payments for
17 mineral extraction, and as a result they have been
18 unable to accumulate sufficient capital for future
19 development from this income. One can infer from her
20 analysis that the Navajo would derive more benefit
21 from their resources by managing them as the Middle
22 Eastern countries are now doing with their oil. At
23 a minimum, it might be far more beneficial to the
24 tribe if they were the "Board of Directors" and hire
25 the experts, i.e., the oil companies, to provide
26 their talents when needed. This would put the tribe
27 in the driver's seat and permit a quantum jump in
28 economic development. A patient give and take dialogue
29 between tribal leaders and the people conducted at
30 the Chapter House meeting level could speed the process.

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1 Dr. Ruffing's most telling
2 point is that up until now there have seemed to
3 be no alternatives to doing things the way they have
4 been done.

5 The recent announcement by
6 the Northern Cheyenne tribe that they were requesting
7 the Department of the Interior to cancel their mineral
8 leases so that they could assume full responsibility
9 for mineral exploitation processing and marketing
10 may well represent the future for tribes with these
11 kinds of assets. Indians are beginning to realize
12 that people with skills are for hire and will work
13 for them, depending upon the challenge and the pay.
14 None of us would be surprised if the Navajo "national-
15 ized" their resources and took full responsibility
16 for developing them.

17 The Navajo are a key group in
18 any discussion of the Indian future. They are presently
19 looking closely at a ten-year program of economic
20 development. Other tribes will watch them closely.
21 It remains to be seen if they can achieve their goals
22 and not at the price of sacrificing their Navajo way.

23 Now I come to some conclusions.
24 From its conception it was planned that this report
25 would be of service to at least three different
26 groups -- American Indians, federal agencies, and
27 social scientists and others interested in Indians
28 and economic development.

29 We hesitate to say very much
30 to American Indians. The facts documented in the

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1 seven reports have long been known to most of them.
2 They have been trying to direct attention to them
3 since early on. They need not be told that U.S.
4 policy was deliberately aimed at crushing the
5 institutions which held Indian communities together,
6 that is religious, educational, political. Nor do
7 they have to be urged to take control of their own
8 destiny. They have made it clear that this is what
9 they want to do. Our only real conclusion for them
10 is that their most economically productive path
11 is to continue to assert their right to be themselves
12 and to develop economically only on terms that are
13 compatible with their community integrity.

14 There are a number of
15 conclusions of particular interest to federal agencies
16 and other developers based on the experience of our
17 study:

18 1. Indian tribes need time to study, think and talk
19 over the implications of any given economic development
20 program.

21 2. For any given program suggestion there should be
22 alternatives to select from.

23 3. Development takes money, regardless of the
24 cultural differences. Tribes appreciate the fact
25 that E.D.A. and other agencies are a source of
26 development funds which did not exist until recently,
27 giving them new alternative resources, in addition
28 to the conventional B.I.A. assistance.

29 4. It seems clear that the Lummi case is a success
30 on a number of grounds. It has pulled the community

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1 together after years of factional division. It has
2 had a multiplying effect in terms of jobs generated,
3 trucks purchased, education advanced, and it has
4 attracted back skilled members of the tribe. It
5 has raised the status of the Lummi within the
6 surrounding white community. Finally, the project
7 should result in ^aconsiderably increased income for
8 the tribe as a result of sales of the seafood which
9 they have harvested.
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The lessons seem obvious.

- A. A project which captures the imagination of the whole community is a good candidate for success, note that this is not sufficient as witness some of the cases from the Cherokee and Morongo.
- B. A multiplier effect, i.e., one that produces other modes of livelihood seems to be an important desiderata of any successful development plan, Lummi is the outstanding example.
- C. An increase in income and skill levels within the community are desired by the Indians provided community integrity is not violated.
- D. Perhaps the most important single factor is the sense on the part of the community that they are negotiating their own future.

The study suggests some important clues about investment.

- A. Innovative enterprises where Indians might have a natural advantage have the best chance of success.
- B. One example is to give them a public utility type of monopoly in exploiting some resource on their own land. None of our studies provides us with an example of this, but what if the Fort Berthold Reservation Dam project were actually operated by the Indians? Rather than receive money for their land, they could have been given jobs and authority to regulate any public services which stemmed from the construction of the Garrison Dam. Why couldn't Navajo exploitation be done by the Navajo?

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In those cases where mineral wealth is present on Indian land, improved living conditions for the Indians can be achieved through greater Indian involvement in the exploitation of that wealth. One reason for Indian reticence about exploitation of their resources is their feeling that they are losing control of the management. They are "out of it" either for conservationist feelings or because they have no sense of participating in the ultimate wealth which may accrue from it. They also feel at the mercy of the people who have the technical know how to develop their mineral resources. A good example is the Navajo-Hopi Black Mesa stripmining. There is no inherent conflict with traditional Indian systems in exploitation of mineral resources by Indian management.

D. Careful attention ought to be paid to the possibility of awarding exclusive franchises to American Indian tribes to perform certain services. This is the case with airlines and some defense contracts. Why not for Indians?

E. In any funding proposal for American Indians, particular concern should be given to the degree of originality and innovativeness, because this is the only realistic way in which Indians will be able to get enough elbow room to develop. It appears very unlikely that Indians are going to succeed, if they try to compete directly with whites in what are primarily white enterprises. The real clue is again in the Lummi project which is both innovative and based on some fundamental Lummi skill and know-

ledge.

F. Economic development efforts are successful when, among other things, they are based on the Indians intimate knowledge of their own environment. This was the case with the Lummi and helps account for their success.

6. When Indians have considerable latitude in choosing experts to assist them in developing economically, chances of success increase. A crucial role was played by Dr. Heath in proposing the aquaculture project to the Lummi. He was able to project a vision of what could be done with an apparently useless tideland and the picture was immediately grasped by the Lummi.

7. Economic development is closely related to other forms of development and depends on existing institutions. Most of the time this is presupposed, but not recognized. In western Europe and Japan the spectacular growth after World War II was possible because institutions already existed to foster it. The institutions of American Indian tribes can also facilitate economic development, but they need to be supported heavily. Though their World War II was over a hundred years ago, their key institutions have been under assault almost up to the present day.

The Passamaquoddy Governor and his council saw a separate OEO organization as a threat to them as a representative governing institution. The tribe would not accept an OEO grant until it

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1 came to the governing body. This is an example of support
2 for an institution which had legitimacy with the people
3 and some continuity to their past. The important point
4 is that there are native institutions which must be
5 supported before there can be economic development. A
6 good example is the Creek Indians of eastern Oklahoma.
7 They are divided people similar to the Cherokee in this
8 respect, yet they have some 18 sacred ball grounds
9 presently on white owned territory. Each year they perform
10 their ceremonies on those grounds, yet it is always at
11 the sufference of the white farmer, rancher, owner. They,
12 the Creeks, are acutely aware of the precariousness
13 of the situation and spend an inordinate amount of time
14 worrying about the future of their sacred grounds.

15 Why not buy these grounds for
16 the traditional Creek and see what happens? There is good
17 reason to suppose that if they really felt secure about
18 their sacred places, they would be much more disposed to
19 think of a future in which they might even control their
20 own destiny positively.

21 On the whole, it would make
22 good sense to support American Indian indigenous religious
23 beliefs as fully as possible. There is precedent for
24 this in the recognition of Taos Pueblo's right to their
25 sacred mountain. Any official act which strengthens
26 the fundamental religious posture of a tribe will almost
27 certainly enable them to pull together more closely as
28 a people.

29 8. Though it is important to work with tribal governments
30 as closely as possible, it ought to be recognized that some

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1 are closer to the people than others. This raises problems
2 and dilemma which are difficlut to solve or resolve.
3 There is no clear-cut solution, but provisions should
4 be made for acting constructively.

5 In the case of the Cherokee,
6 there are viable, full blood organizations which might
7 undertake specific development projects for the people
8 they represent. The Cherokee Seven Clan Society is one
9 such organization. With the Navajo, it might be
10 appropriate to support the local extended kin group
11 in manners pertaining to sheep or cattle production,
12 while it would be equally suitable to fund the tribe
13 to carry out the marketing function in wool, hides and
14 meat.

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1 9. Something should be done about the problem which
2 might be labelled the "good intentions" gambit. This
3 problem starts with Congress which votes appropriations
4 for a particular program in the sum of millions of
5 dollars. A bureau of the Federal Government is charged
6 with the task of administering the program and the
7 dollars. Unbelieving Indians are usually unprepared
8 for the sudden appearance of the money and it takes
9 them time to develop coherent programs. In the mean-
10 time, government agencies must work against a July 1
11 deadline to get all of the appropriated money committed
12 to specific projects. They find themselves pressuring
13 the tribes to come up with any kind of proposal so that
14 the money will be spent. The tribes feel a lot of
15 pressure to respond and in the end often support programs
16 they have little faith in just so they won't "lose"
17 the money. Naturally, the outcome is almost always
18 failure.

19 To the Indians, it is a
20 choice of take it or leave it and never mind if you
21 don't understand. Later the Indians are marked once
22 more as failures because the program did not go as
23 expected. For this problem, it is clear that there
24 must be some way to carry over development funds from
25 year to year so that:

26 (1) Government agencies will not be under intense
27 pressure to literally force programs on Indians

28 (2) Indians will not be under such pressure to
29 accept programs which they do not understand.

30 Nowhere is the folly of forcing programs on Indians

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1 so evident as in the Papago cases.
2 10 Urging Indians to get "off the dime" and start
3 behaving like white men has negative results. This
4 is precisely what they cannot and do not want to do.
5 They want to be Indians and only when whites accept
6 this fact will they (Indians) begin to feel free to
7 pursue the kind of development which they desire.
8 Indians know what whites expect of them, because they
9 are close observers of their conquerers so when they
10 do not cooperate wholeheartedly in a developer's
11 scheme, it is because to do so will violate their
12 internal Indian charters for correct behavior.
13 11. The diversity of Indian tribes cannot be ignored.
14 This means that a single formula for development will
15 not work. There is no across the board solution.
16 Each Indian tribe must be considered separately and
17 uniquely and as we have already noted, it is often
18 necessary to recognize natural economic units within
19 tribes. Though it is difficult to deal with scores
20 of special cases, this is what must be done. In other
21 words, while it is sound bureaucratically to deal with
22 masses, it is disasterous when applied to economic
23 development for American Indians.

24 The conclusions of this
25 report would not be complete without some attention
26 to the myths and assumption which have characterized
27 Indian-white relationships since contact. One assump-
28 tion is that Indians must discard all of their ancient
29 wisdom, their notions about how to relate to their
30 fellow tribesmen and their feelings about nature and

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1 its enjoyment. It is difficult for non-Indians to accept
2 the Indian view of time, man and nature. Yet this is
3 precisely where there is the least amount of under-
4 standing and the greatest preponderance of myth.

5 The classic assumption is
6 that Indians were savages prior to European discovery.
7 This is nonsense. All prehistorical and early
8 historical evidence marks them as a people who know
9 how to live with nature. There was an evenness and
10 balance in their life that caught the attention of
11 every careful European explorer. Indeed, the life
12 they lived contained all of the benefits of what could
13 be called the "good life" in the 20th century. In
14 his book "Stone Age Economics" Marshall Sahlins
15 describes how tribal peoples managed their own affairs
16 while maintaining ample leisure time for satisfying
17 human relationships. The important point is that they
18 managed their own affairs competently and satisfactorily.
19 Now they are faced with the problem of getting back
20 on the track, but not at the price of changing their
21 fundamental values.

22 A recent evaluation of Indian
23 economic development done for EDA illustrates the
24 complexity of understanding the problems. In discuss-
25 ing cultural values (p. 13), the authors point out
26 that traditional entrepreneurial or managerial
27 values seem lacking in Indian traditions. They have
28 no entrepreneurial or managerial class and they are
29 not habituated to contemporary money making patterns.
30 Furthermore,

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"...the creation of economic values and self-sustaining entities does not come easily to Indians."

Now none of these allegations are new or surprising. They have been made by everyone who has taken time to observe the contrast between Indian and non-Indian values. What is disappointing is the recommendation for doing something about the situation. The authors conclude that:

"Thinking in monetary terms, comparing costs and benefits and engaging in producing and selling, are activities which must be transplanted to the reservation for economic projects to be viable."

Once again, it is the Indian who gives up his cherished values and identity. Once more, there is a refusal to accord any dignity to the Indian way. Always it is up to him to change and no alternative is explored. Like a record, ever replayed, there is recognition of Indian values and the solution is always to ask him to change them. When will non-Indians accept the validity of the Indian position and let them develop in their own way?

THE COMMISSIONER: Well thank you very much Mr. Stanley. I think we'll break for lunch now and then hear from Mr. Ruttan and Mr. T'Seleie after lunch. I think to make sure ^{we} complete our work this afternoon, we should come back at 2:00. Would that be all right?

MR. BELL: Yes sir.

THE COMMISSIONER: O.K.

(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO 2:00 P.M.)

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(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: Sorry, Mr.

Bell and members of the panel. Just a little house-keeping. Well, we'll come to order then and proceed I believe to the next member of the panel.

MR. BELL: Yes, sir, I want to call on Mr. Ruttan now .

WITNESS STANLEY: Sir, could I just mention for the record that I want to leave copies of the full monographs that are referred to and summarized in my report. I'll leave them for the record.

THE COMMISSIONER: Those will be marked as exhibits, Miss Hutchinson, and made available to the Inquiry staff. I know we'll be interested in them, and of course they're available to all participants, but for the moment we'll satisfy ourselves with one set and photostat them, if that may become necessary.

MR. CARTER: Sir, can I just take a moment to file another exhibit? It's the letter that Dr. Hobart has written responding to two questions that he was left with by Mr. Bayly. I'd like to file that as the next exhibit.

THE COMMISSIONER: All right. What are they about?

MR. CARTER: Do you want me to read the letter?

THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, why not?

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MR. CARTER: All right.

THE COMMISSIONER: No, go ahead,
please. I'll be leaving for two weeks and if you can
just read it it will be fresh in my mind when I get
off the plane at Vancouver to sit down to get some
work done.

MR. CARTER: It's addressed to
Mr. Steeves, and reads as follows:

"I'm responding to the two requests for
written answers which Mr. Bayly made of
me. The first dealt with my Panel 1.
testimony on page 32, line 5. The question
had to do specifically with the evidence
justifying the statement beginning:

'As the government has learned even
the possibility of,'"

and he leaves out the rest of the quote.

"It turns out that this is an exact quote
from D.H.J. Claremont's publication entitled,

'Deviants Among Indians & Eskimos in
Aklavik, N.W.T.'

published in 1963 by the Northern Co-Ordination
& Research Centre of the Department of Northern
Affairs & National Resources, Ottawa. You will
recall that I made use of other material from
this publication by Claremont, and that it was
among the sources that I listed at the end of
that Panel 1 testimony. The quotation marks
which belong around that sentence must have
gotten lost in one of the several retypings my

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1 testimony went through. I enclose a xerox
2 copy of page 17 of Claremont's publication
3 with the quoted sentence marked in red ink.
4 The justification for this statement would
5 be essentially a conclusion statement, as
6 found earlier in that section of the publi-
7 cation especially at the bottom of page 15.

8 Mr. Bayly's second question had to do
9 with time intervals which should be allowed
10 to native people. I have given this matter
11 considerable thought and have been forced
12 to conclude that I do not know enough about
13 either where the native people are now in
14 their thinking and planning, or about the
15 particular decision-making process they
16 will use in respect to important issues
17 such as this. Permit me to offer a profes-
18 sional opinion on this matter."

19 THE COMMISSIONER: That letter
20 will be marked as an exhibit. Now, Mr. Bell?

21 MR. BELL: I think we're
22 ready to proceed with Mr. Ruttan.

23 WITNESS RUTTAN: Mr. Commissioner,
24 my statement of evidence is a summary of a more
25 comprehensive report prepared by John T'Seleie and
26 myself and entered as an exhibit before this Inquiry.
27 Also hindsight being what it is, I notice that I have
28 not expanded on some of the points of our study in the
29 written summary. With your permission, Mr. Commis-
30 sioner, I would expand on certain points as I go along

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1 or be prepared to clarify these points either during
2 or after my presentation.

3 I now read the summary.

4 Applicants who propose
5 construction and operation of pipelines in the Macken-
6 zie Valley have presented evidence to support their
7 claim that the economic benefits of the pipeline and
8 the industrial development associated with it outweigh
9 the disbenefits and have, by implication, undervalued
10 or devalued the traditional (renewable) resource base.

11 In opposition to such claims
12 and in support of a satisfactory land claims settlement
13 before construction of a pipeline and other related
14 developments begin, the Dene and others have presented
15 a great volume of evidence and many witnesses who
16 have demonstrated that the economic benefits of non-
17 renewable resource development are, to say the least,
18 transitory; that the environmental and cultural
19 disbenefits are destructive; and that the traditional
20 (and renewable) resources of the land have been and
21 are major elements of both cultural and economic
22 development of the people of the Northwest Territories.
23 The Dene have also proposed the control, development
24 and management of renewable resources for and by
25 native people as an alternative to dependence on
26 non-renewable resource development such as that of the
27 petrochemical industry.
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1 This document has been prepared
2 in support of this proposal, addressing itself to an
3 evaluation of the renewable resource base and to the
4 guidelines by which the economic potentials of the
5 renewable resource base may be maximized under the con-
6 trol of native people who do not wish to be dependent
7 on the industrial economy.

8 Because of the limitations
9 of research time and comprehensive up to date information,
10 this document cannot be regarded as an indepth, com-
11 prehensive analysis or quantitative evaluation of the
12 renewable resource base. However, it identifies and
13 discusses economic values of renewable resources and
14 the potentials of these resources to provide for the
15 future socio-economic development of Dene and of the
16 Northwest Territories.

17 The development of this
18 report and the proposal for economic use of renewable
19 resources for and by Dene, is based on an understanding
20 of the traditional and modern use of renewable resources
21 by native people, such as are described by Michael Asch
22 and others, and on a knowledge of the changes which
23 have occurred with colonization and on an evaluation of
24 the resources which are not generally recognized by
25 economic development interests.

26 Native people have always had
27 a clear understanding of the importance of all the natural
28 resources available to them. Many ways of deriving
29 support from the environment have been developed, founded
30 on the value of maintaining the unimpaired productivity

1 of the land and the stability of their way of life.
2 Recent times have brought disruptions in the form of
3 industrialization and the modern wage economy, and a
4 new emphasis on non-renewable resource exploitation. The
5 residents of the Mackenzie valley and all northern people
6 are still recovering from the impact of these sudden
7 changes.

8 At this time, it is essential
9 to bring forth new ways to manage the renewable resources
10 in order to maintain and or increase economic production
11 on a long term sustained yield basis to enrich the life
12 of the people and to maintain or enhance the social stability
13 of the communities. In order to accomplish these ends,
14 an integrated resource use (or management) plan is
15 required for both the community and the region. A
16 plan which incorporates all of the renewable and human
17 resources of the community or region. With this
18 approach, conflicts between the use of specific
19 resources and/or between traditional and modern
20 exploitation of resources may be reduced or eliminated.
21 Such progressive management entails a judicious
22 choice of development strategies based on a clear sighted
23 appraisal of the long range social and economic values
24 of all resources.

25 In the present study the authors
26 have recognized both the traditional (native) and modern
27 evaluation of renewable resources and have presented
28 the guidelines by which traditional values may be
29 maintained in the profitable development and use of the
30 resource base. For convenience, however, each component

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1 of the resource base has been examined as a separate
2 entity, particularly in its evaluation.

3 Specifically, the exhibit
4 we have submitted provides brief descriptions of
5 various components of the renewable resource base of
6 the Mackenzie Valley region, indicates the potentials
7 for future development, management and economic use,
8 and describes potential conflicts between renewable
9 resources and non renewable resource development. It also
10 discusses the human (Dene) resource base and suggests
11 the criteria and guidelines by which Dene people may
12 manage and develop these renewable resources on a profitable
13 basis.

14 Although most aspects of this study
15 are applicable anywhere in the Northwest Territories,
16 relevancy to the present Inquiry is maintained or was
17 maintained by data obtained from the Fort Good Hope,
18 Colville Lake community which is typical of those
19 communities which would be most dramatically affected by
20 industrial developments such as the petrochemical
21 industry proposed.

22 In the main report, we did
23 not go into details concerning our approach to the study
24 and -- except that I did include some of these in our
25 summary in conclusions in the main report. So, at this
26 point, I will read in some of the approaches that were
27 behind our treatment of the subject.

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1 The basic approach and the
2 philosophy behind the preparation of our report is
3 summarized as follows.

4 Although renewable resources
5 (fish, wildlife and forests) have maintained the people
6 of the Mackenzie Basin for countless years, their true
7 values have seldom been recognized by those responsible
8 for their administration and development. Also each
9 part of the resource base has often been dealt with
10 separately without consideration of how it might be
11 related to the whole or without consideration of how
12 it might affect the people who depend upon these
13 resources.

14 In this approach, conflicts
15 often occurred between traditional resource use and
16 the social change that occurred within each community
17 such as the educational system which was a very serious
18 factor in changing and devaluing the renewable resource
19 base for native people.

20 Each part of the resource base
21 has often been dealt with separately without considera-
22 tion of how it might be related to the whole. Manage-
23 ment, where it was applied, reflected this division
24 and often allowed a compartmentalized and often
25 conflicting resource policy to develop (that is,
26 forests managed independently of the game animals,
27 fur bearers separately from habitat, fisheries not
28 related to land use practices that permit siltation).
29 Actually, all these resources are closely related and
30 affect each other strongly. When seen as the summation

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1 of many parts of an immense and delicately balanced
2 life support system, the renewable resource complex
3 is truly impressive and it must be treated with
4 extreme caution at all times.

5 Many errors in the management
6 of renewable resources have also occurred in the past.
7 Errors that largely arose from the perspective
8 approach. These errors originated in two ways. First,
9 the prevalence of a single use point of view in North
10 America -- all resources have traditionally been
11 isolated and developed individually whether they are
12 renewable or non-renewable. Secondly the resources
13 are valued only when converted to a cash value that
14 may be realized by the developer (entrepreneur) or
15 manager. These attitudes must be adjusted before
16 alternative resource management policies can be
17 developed.

18 The value of a resource is
19 frequently assessed by listing the annual cash yield
20 per capita. For northern resources, income figures
21 are generally low, creating the impression that they
22 have little value.

23 In those societies where all
24 income is acquired in the form of cash revenues
25 and where all goods and services must be paid for in
26 currency, this ^{is} probably a valid approach. In the
27 north, this form of evaluation is deceptive and must
28 be corrected to arrive at a fair understanding of the
29 actual value of various resources to native people.

30 Northern people who derive

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1 their living wholly or in part from hunting, fishing
2 and trapping receive benefits in several forms.
3 First, money received from the sale of their products
4 and second, items of subsistence that are never
5 converted to cash. That is, food, raw materials for
6 home manufacture of clothing, equipment or crafts and
7 the means of constructing shelter (that is, logs
8 for houses). In addition, labor and products are
9 exchanged or shared among the Dene in traditional
10 fashion.

11 In other words, many goods
12 and services are received without benefit of a middle-
13 man who must make a profit on each transaction. The
14 individual may earn little but in the role of hunter,
15 trapper, consumer, craftsperson or homemaker, they
16 collectively serve to maintain local businesses and
17 administrative interests.

18 A corresponding situation
19 in the south is the small farmer who shows only a
20 small profit if any at all, but maintains a family,
21 raises much of his own food and, in association with
22 other farmers, forms a stable community and helps
23 to maintain local businesses.

24 In both the north among
25 native trappers, and the south among small farmers,
26 a labor intensive rather than capital intensive
27 economic system is operating and the visible flow of
28 cash does not reflect the real value of the resources.

29 Renewable resource develop-
30 ment and economic use has almost always been one of

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1 extraction or sale outside the area where the resource
2 was produced.

3 In the presentation of this
4 document, we therefore assert that a realignment of
5 priorities from solely extractive industry to land
6 based resource management will permit an economic
7 restructuring, increasing the flow of money and
8 benefits to the Dene. Increased revenue from efficient-
9 ly managed natural resources would then go into more
10 intensive development in accordance with the social
11 and economic needs of the people.
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I'll now go on to summarize
some of the major regional and community resources.

Fisheries. The fisheries
resource is probably the most important renewable
resource in the Mackenzie region in terms of quantity
and potential for future economic development.

Although imperfectly evaluated, the Mackenzie Valley
fishery includes a variety of valuable fish species
which are utilized as a domestic resource for native
people.

Although much new information
concerning fish populations of the Mackenzie River
basin has been generated during baseline environmental
studies since 1970, comprehensive assessments of the
resource in terms of population size and long-term
production potentials have not been carried out.

The regional fish resources
are distributed in two broad groups: Those which
inhabit the Mackenzie River and its major tributaries
and those which occupy the numerous lakes and smaller
streams throughout the basin.

The fisheries resource of
the Mackenzie and Slave Rivers, Great Slave Lake and
large tributary streams such as the Hay and Liard
Rivers, includes more than ten species of which the
most important are whitefish, northern pike, pickerel,
inconnu (coney), and ciscos (herrings). Lake trout
also occur in harvestable numbers in Great Slave Lake
and Arctic char are found in certain tributary streams
along the Mackenzie River Delta. "Coarse fish", such

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1 as suckers and ling, which are of relatively low
2 economic and domestic value, also occur throughout
3 the system.

4 Each community makes exten-
5 sive use of the Mackenzie River fishery during the
6 summer months. The Mackenzie River has always been
7 a major source of fish for native residents and each
8 summer a number of fish camps are established along
9 its shores. At Fort Good Hope, for example, residents
10 estimated a total catch of some 39,000 to 50,000 pounds
11 of whitefish, inconnu, and ciscos during July and
12 August of 1975.

13 A relatively untouched fish
14 resource also occurs in the large lakes along the
15 valley. The primary species are lake trout, white-
16 fish, grayling and northern pike. Although many of
17 these lakes are characterized by low temperatures
18 and relatively low productivity, they have sustained
19 fairly high levels of domestic (subsistence) fishing
20 without apparent depletion. Many such lakes occur in
21 each community, particularly from Fort Simpson north-
22 ward. The Fort Good Hope-Colville Lake community
23 has more than 50 lakes which are fished periodically
24 by residents. In 1975 residents of Fort Good Hope
25 harvested more than 23,000 pounds of whitefish, ciscos,
26 pike and trout from ten of these lakes over a three
27 to four-month period. This did not include,
28 incidentally, the fishing that was done at Colville
29 Lake.

30 The total value of the

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1 regional fishery resource has never been calculated.
2 However, in the Fort Good Hope community the
3 replacement value of fish taken over a six-month
4 period in 1975 was in excess of \$143,000. The
5 potential production or economic value of fish from this
6 sinble community cannot be calculated on the basis of
7 present information but it is considered by residents
8 to be very high. On the basis of present information,
9 an annual production of 500,000 to a million pounds
10 of fish is not unreasonable.

11 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,
12 Mr. Ruttan.

13 A Yes sir.

14 Q You say in Fort Good
15 Hope the replacement value of fish taken over a six-
16 month period in 1975 was in excess of \$143,000. Is
17 that -- how did you arrive at that figure?

18 A We obtained from the
19 people of Fort Good Hope an estimate of the numbers
20 of each species and we used Rushforth's calculation
21 of weights --

22 Q Oh, I see.

23 A -- and values, poundage
24 values for the replacement value.

25 Q Right.

26 A The potential production
27 -- oh, wait a minute, I lost my place.

28 Assuming future control of
29 resources and the development of a long-range fish
30 management program, maximization of the economic

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1 value of the fisheries of any community could be
2 accomplished by the establishment of community and
3 regional markets, and various forms of processing for
4 domestic and commercial use or resale. Certain lakes
5 or streams might also be used for development of
6 sport fishing camps.

7 Rapidly expanding industrial
8 development presents a major threat to the fishery of
9 the Mackenzie Valley. If this fishery is damaged or
10 destroyed, it would drastically affect the potential
11 of the resource throughout much of the basin. Several
12 species migrate long distances in the Mackenzie River
13 to spawn in tributary streams and lakes along the
14 valley or at specific points along the river itself.
15 These are, by the way these statements have been taken
16 from the studies by the Federal Fisheries people.
17 They have conducted some excellent work. Loss or
18 disruption of such spawning areas or interruptions of
19 migration patterns by disturbances associated with
20 the pipeline and other developm ents could eliminate
21 certain species in both the Mackenzie River and the
22 tributary drainages.

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1 The fisheries resource is
2 already seriously threatened by increased pollution by
3 industry from as far away as Alberta, by increasing
4 disturbance by barge traffic and by changes in flow
5 regimes from upstream dams, such as the Bennett Dam and
6 other dams on the Peace, Athabasca and Slave rivers, and
7 power dams on tributary streams. The proposed Great
8 Bear dam, for example, could seriously deplete or
9 alter the valuable fishery resource of Great Bear Lake.
10 Other detrimental factors include improperly constructed
11 tributary stream crossings, by roads and highways, for
12 example, the Rengleng River crossing which block
13 migration and cause downstream siltation, pollution
14 from oil and chemical spills and industrial pollution
15 as demonstrated by the arsenic problem at Yellowknife.

16 A final concern associated with
17 potential industrial development is the anticipated
18 increase in human population and the demands which
19 will be made upon the sport fishery resources of
20 accessible lakes and streams. Populations of certain
21 lakes, particularly cold water lakes and the small streams
22 which drain into them cannot sustain heavy angling
23 pressure over an extended period of time. These water
24 bodies and the populations which they support should
25 be identified and suitable protective measures developed
26 prior to any industrial development that may be con-
27 templated.

18 Under the alternative develop-
19 ment programme, as proposed, the domestic, that is
20 traditional resource, would be maintained or enhanced,

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1 while surpluses would be applied to the development of
2 community and regional revenue. In order that all of the
3 future demands on the fisheries be met, the resource
4 must be safeguarded from pollution and other environmental
5 damage, from over fishing and hazards such as large
6 dams and other river uses which destroy or damage spawning
7 areas or block migration between critical seasonal
8 habitats.

9 Under "Wildlife". Wildlife
10 resources of the region include many species within the
11 general classifications of furbearers, game animals,
12 waterfowl and upland game birds.

13 Furbearers have been the major
14 source of income for native people from the beginning of
15 the fur trade until recent years. Although socio-
16 economic changes have caused a decline in the fur industry,
17 many individuals still trap for profit and as a way of
18 life. The carcasses of beaver and muskrat also provide
19 a valuable source of meat for trappers. The most
20 important furbearer species are beaver, marten, muskrat
21 and lynx, the latter varying in number according to the
22 cyclic populations of snowshoe hare, that is rabbit,
23 a species on which they depend.

24 Beaver occur throughout the
25 region and occupy most of the streams and many of the
26 lakes within the Mackenzie basin. The largest populations
27 occur on the Kakisa River drainage south of Fort Providence
28 and in the Ontaratue, Ramparts River area near Fort
29 Good Hope. The importance of beaver extends far beyond
30 its economic value as a fur producer. Its role in the

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development and maintenance of habitats for other wildlife forms and in the regulation of drainage throughout the Mackenzie basin cannot be overemphasized. Although the species is not seriously affected by disturbance of habitat, a decrease in trapping pressure and in the management of populations as a result of industrial developments can be detrimental to both the species and the areas which they occupy. Beaver will colonize and remain in any particular area until the food supply has been depleted and then will abandon the area until food supplies, for example, willow, poplar and birch, have regenerated. During recent environmental studies associated with pipeline development, observers have frequently noted the effects of under-trapping in the form of abandoned, dried-out and eroded beaver ponds and streams. Much of the reduction in trapper effort has been attributed directly to temporary changes in employment patterns as a result of seismic line development, road construction, etc.

Muskrat also occur throughout the region but are found in largest numbers in the Slave River delta, near Fort Good Hope, and in the Mackenzie River delta. Muskrat habitats are endangered by draining or siltation of lakes and sloughs.

Marten occur throughout the region, but are most abundant in mature stands of conifers such as spruce and jackpine which are associated with stream valleys and lake shore areas and which provide a reliable source of prey including snowshoe hare, mice and squirrel. The most serious threat to marten populations

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In Chief

1 is loss of fragmentation of extensive mature timber
2 through fire or intensive logging operations both of
3 which are anticipated with further industrial development.

4 Lynx occur throughout the
5 forrested portions of the region but are most abundant
6 in mixed wood, that is deciduous and coniferous trees,
7 and riparian areas where snowshoe hare, their primary
8 prey, are most abundant.

9 With some exceptions, regional fur
10 resources are represented in each community. Fort
11 Good Hope is fairly typical of the communities north of
12 Fort Simpson, although their production of beaver and
13 marten is often higher than other communities.

14 Although trapping has declined
15 during the past 30 years, the industry still provides
16 a major source of direct income to many trappers. In
17 Fort Good Hope, for example, recent fur harvests have
18 been valued at more than \$48,500.00 in a season in
19 direct return to the trappers.
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1 The potential fur yields
2 could be readily increased by more effective management.
3 Values would also be increased by improved marketing
4 systems such as public auction, development of
5 trapper-owned trading stores, sale to handicraft
6 centers and further development of a garment industry
7 within the Northwest Territories.

8 At the present time, most of
9 the -- a large portion of the value of the raw pelts
10 goes out of the country and does not accrue directly
11 to the trapper.

12 The future of the fur resources
13 is not as seriously threatened by environmental
14 disruption as are other renewable resources. The
15 most serious threat lies in the socio-economic changes
16 that will occur, the modern attitudes towards trapping
17 as a way of life and the reluctance of government to
18 engage itself in effective development or management
19 of this resource.

20 Big game resources consist
21 of barren-ground caribou, moose, bison, woodland
22 and mountain caribou, Dall sheep and mountain goat.
23 Grizzly bear, an endangered species in portions of
24 Canada and black bear are also big game as far as
25 sport hunters are concerned.

26 Barren-ground caribou are
27 probably the most important big game resource of
28 northern people. The population which might be utilized
29 consists of four major herds, each of which ranges
30 during part of its annual migration cycle within or

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1 very near the Mackenzie drainage basin.

2 The Beverly herd which
3 probably exceeds 250,000 animals in total population
4 ranges in fall, winter and early spring around the
5 east end and southeast of Great Slave Lake and is
6 available to hunters from Fort Reliance, Snowdrift,
7 Fort Resolution, Hay River and Fort Smith. The
8 potential of this large herd is high with a harvestable
9 population for Dene of the Mackenzie Basin probably
10 in excess of 3,000 per year. This 3,000 per year
11 incidentally is that portion of the total harvestable
12 population of some 10,000 animals which are available
13 to Dene around Great Slave Lake.

14 THE COMMISSIONER: But they
15 only take 3,000 now. Is that it?

16 A No. I don't know what
17 the actual take is at the present time. This is a
18 calculation of the harvestable population based on
19 I believe there are about 1970 figures. I haven't
20 got --

21 Q The 10,000 is the
22 harvestable population of the whole herd.

23 A Of the whole herd.

24 Q The 3,000 comes within
25 -- close enough to those communities to enable them
26 to take 3,000 a year or at least --

27 A Yes. That might not --
28 that might confuse the situation a little. The total
29 harvestable population is taken by Inuit of Baker
30 Lake, Aberdeen Lake, by Chipewyan people from northern

Stanley, ruttan, T'Seleie
In Chief

1 Saskatchewan and northern Manitoba. They are hunted
2 by several groups and this is just a tongue in cheek
3 portion of that herd that might be available as a
4 harvestable herd to those people.

5 Q Right, I understand.

6 You mean off the cuff don't you? Not tongue in cheek.

7 A The Bathurst Inlet herd
8 ranges in winter and in the forest extending southward
9 and south-eastward from Great Bear Lake to the north-
10 east shores of -- north and east shores of Great Slave
11 Lake and is utilized by Mackenzie Basin communities
12 from Fort Franklin to Yellowknife. Population estimates
13 of this herd have been conducted almost every year
14 since 1967 by Game Division personnel. The most
15 recent census was made in 1974 and resulted in pre-
16 calving estimates of 173,195 to 187,478 caribou on the
17 calving range east of Bathurst Inlet. Since this
18 estimate did not include the 1974 calf crop, estimated
19 at 7,374 animals and the bulls, non-calving females and
20 yearlings which range west of Bathurst, a more accurate
21 estimate would probably exceed 200,000 animals. The
22 harvestable population based on 1974 data may therefore
23 be calculated, conservatively at 10,000+ animals
24 and probably would equal this number in 1976.

25 The Bluenose herd ranges
26 in winter along the north shore of Great Slave Lake
27 west of Colville Lake and north to treeline. The herd
28 which is utilized in winter by Fort Good Hope, Colville
29 Lake people and by other trappers along the Anderson
30 River and north from Travaillant Lake was estimated

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1 in 1967 at 19,000 animals but probably exceeds 50,000
2 at the present time. Although the potential of this
3 herd cannot be calculated accurately, on the basis of
4 present data, the reported annual harvest by Fort Good
5 Hope/Colville Lake people suggests that 2,000 or more
6 caribou could be taken annually by Mackenzie River
7 trappers. Actually, most of these could be taken in
8 that particular area. There's a little miswriting here.

9 The Porcupine herd, which
10 is usually associated with Yukon Territories and
11 Alaska, is hunted along the Richardson Mountains by
12 Fort McPherson and Aklavik people. This herd has been
13 estimated at 90,000 to 120,000, a portion of which
14 appears in spring and autumn along the Richardson
15 Mountains.

16 These four herds now supply
17 hundreds of thousands of pounds of excellent meat and
18 many valuable skins to Mackenzie Valley residents
19 but with systematic management, would constitute a
20 multi-million dollar domestic and commercial resource.
21 For example, the barren-ground caribou of the Bluenose
22 herd are harvested annually on winter range which extends
23 from Colville Lake to areas between Colville Lake
24 and Fort Good Hope. This is a redundancy. I am sorry.

25 The latest records indicate
26 a harvest of more than 350 caribou for an imputed value
27 of more than \$96,000, in terms of replacement value
28 of meat and the sale or use of skins.

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1 The potential safe harvest li-
2 mits of this species cannot be determined without
3 accurate estimates of total populations and annual
4 increments, but it is believed that more than 15,000
5 caribou might be harvested annually without endanger-
6 ing -- that is along the Mackenzie Valley -- without
7 endangering the herds. The value of 1,200,000 pounds
8 of meat, which is calculated on the basis of multiplying
9 the kill by approximately 80 pounds to the average
10 animal, and 10,000 to 15,000 skins from this harvest
11 would be greatly increased by the use and sale of
12 surplus meat and skins through settlement-based
13 facilities.

14 If the full potential of the
15 barren ground resource is to be realized -- correction,
16 if the full potential of the barren-ground caribou
17 resource is to be realized, a full-scale management
18 program must be implemented in the near future. Alth-
19 ough the environmental impact of the proposed pipeline
20 does not in itself constitute a severe threat to the
21 caribou resource, other developments such as roads,
22 power dams and human population increases may
23 seriously disrupt or decimate specific herds or portions
24 of herds. Thus the urgency of protective measures
25 as well as the effective management of the caribou
26 resource cannot be over-emphasized.

27 Woodland caribou are also
28 an important wildlife resource of the region. Populations
29 consist of two major groups or types. The first and
30 most familiar type of woodland caribou includes those

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
In Chief

1 which range throughout the coniferous forests and
2 muskeg areas from the Cameron Mountains in the south
3 to Arctic Red River and Travaillant Lake in the
4 north.

5 The second type occurs in
6 large bands throughout the Mackenzie Mountains spend-
7 ing much of its life cycle on alpine and sub-alpine
8 tundra. There mountain caribou were, until the 1930s,
9 a primary resource of mountain people who now reside
10 at Fort Norman, Fort Good Hope, and other settlements,
11 but is now used as a basic resource for licenced
12 sport hunting. Very little is known of the current
13 population status or seasonal distribution of mountain
14 caribou, and it is very difficult to evaluate its
15 potential from either its domestic or commercial
16 points of view.

17 Moose rivals barren ground
18 caribou as a domestic resource and a source of food
19 for northern people. It is widely distributed
20 through all of the forest areas of the Mackenzie
21 Basin with concentrations found on the islands and
22 flood plains of the Mackenzie and other rivers
23 in winter, and in the mixed forest areas of the region
24 on a year-around basis. The most serious threat
25 to present moose populations is the loss of populations
26 on the Mackenzie River islands by disturbance of
27 wintering areas on islands and flood plains and
28 interruption of movement between upland areas and river
29 valley wintering areas. The second threat is
30 increase in human populations and excessive hunting

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
In Chief

1 pressure.

2 Bison are an important resource
3 in the southern part of the region. Primary bison
4 range extends from Great Slave Lake to Fort Chipewyan,
5 Alberta. This herd now is -- these herds now are
6 under study.

7 Dall sheep occur in the
8 Mackenzie and Richardson Mountains and were for many
9 years a popular game animal for mountain people of
10 Fort Liard, Nahanni Butte, Wrigley, Fort Norman and
11 Fort Good Hope. It is now hunted by licenced sport
12 hunters in the Mackenzie Mountains and by residents
13 of Aklavik and occasionally by other valley residents.
14 Its status at present is vague throughout much of
15 its range and its potential unknown. This animal,
16 incidentally, is also hunted by sports hunters
17 quite heavily.

18 The mountain goat is a
19 relatively rare game animal which occurs at least in
20 the southern part of the Mackenzie Mountains, but its
21 present distribution and population status is virtually
22 unknown. However, despite these factors and its sus-
23 ceptibility to over-hunting and other human disturbance,
24 it is hunted by licenced sport hunters from outside
25 the Northwest Territories.

26 The waterfowl resource of
27 the Mackenzie Basin consists primarily of Canada, snow
28 and whitefronted geese, and several species of ducks
29 which use the Mackenzie River Valley during spring
30 and fall migrations.

Stanley Ruttan, T'Seleie
In Chief

1 The potential of this resource as an economic base is
2 rather limited, but it is heavily utilized by native
3 people at various points throughout the valley.

4 Upland game includes
5 ptarmigan, sharp-tailed grouse, and ruffed grouse.
6 Of these, ptarmigan are heavily utilized in winter
7 wherever they appear throughout the basin, and as
8 such constitute a valuable seasonable food source.

9 Snowshoe hare (or varying
10 hare) are possibly the most important small game
11 species along the entire valley and when populations
12 are high, are harvested in thousands.

13 The economic potential of
14 game in any community would be maximized by compre-
15 hensive management programs designed to control and
16 utilize these species on a sustained yield basis;
17 more efficient harvest, storage and handling of meat
18 and skins; development of facilities for the storage
19 and sale of surplus game meat to other members of the
20 community, and developme nt of one or more big game
21 hunting camps or lodges for sport hunting of big
22 game by tourists.

23 The forest resources. The
24 forest resources of the Mackenzie Basin include
25 spruce -- pardon me, include white spruce, black
26 spurce, larch, white birch, balsam, poplar, trembling
27 aspen, jackpine and lodgepole pine. Accurate vege-
28 tation mapping and forest inventories are essential
29 for evaluating the timber resources of the Mackenzie
30 Basin, but a comprehensive vegetation mapping program

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
In Chief

1 was not undertaken until the initiation of studies
2 associated with a possible petrochemical transporta-
3 tion corridor. I think this factor is significant,
4 Mr. Commissioner.
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Stanley, Ruttan, T'Selele
In Chief

1 All of the tree species
2 are found in the upper Mackenzie where growing condi-
3 tions are optimum, the number of species represented
4 and their quality diminishing towards the northern
5 end of the valley. White spruce is found primarily
6 in the south but its range extends well to the north.
7 Black spruce, used primarily for pilings is ubiquitous.
8 Other potentially valuable species such as white birch
9 and larch are widely distributed.

10 The most extensive stands of
11 commercially valuable timber occur in the Liard Valley
12 south and east of Fort Simpson and on the alluvial
13 flood plains and islands along the Mackenzie River
14 and its tributaries. Approximately 36,000 square miles
15 of the Mackenzie region have been surveyed and about
16 one-fourth or 8,977 acres is productive forest, including
17 one-third softwoods (that is, the coniferous trees)
18 over one-half mixed forest and the remainder is hard-
19 woods (that is, aspen, poplar and birch).

20 The estimates of potentially
21 exploitable timber resources cited in the literature
22 must be regarded with caution. Because of the problems
23 of mapping and aerial survey interpretation, calcula-
24 tion of available timber can only be approximate.
25 Small stands, not usually considered economic under
26 conventional harvesting practices may be omitted,
27 while other areas may be over-estimated.

28 Accurate survey is difficult
29 because of the irregular distribution of commercially
30 valuable timber which is characteristic of northern

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
In Chief

1 forests -- a condition which reflects the sensitivity
2 of vegetation to micro-environmental variations in
3 permafrost, topography, climate and past fire occurrence.

4 A recent study has indicated
5 that a substantial market exists for locally produced
6 lumber and pilings and that a mill could be established
7 at Fort Simpson to accommodate present and future
8 markets, particularly associated with pipeline develop-
9 ment. Other findings from this study are that a
10 small mill might be supported on the lower Mackenzie
11 probably near Fort Good Hope but that no large mills
12 could be maintained in that area.

13 At the present time, there
14 are seven mills operating in the Northwest Territories,
15 mostly small community operations such as those at
16 Fort Resolution, Providence, Fort Good Hope and Arctic
17 Red River. While they are not all recognized as
18 highly profitable ventures, they contribute substantially
19 to the local economies by furnishing seasonal jobs
20 and locally needed products.

21 Rumors are occasionally heard
22 of schemes suggested for pulp operations based on
23 black spruce and hardwood resources. There is at
24 this time no evidence that the Mackenzie Valley
25 forests could support such a consumptive enterprise.

26 In view of the environmental
27 and operational constraints, it can clearly be seen
28 that conventional large scale harvesting methods
29 cannot be applied without carefully evaluating their
30 long-range effects.

Stanley, Rutlan, T'Seleie
In Chief

Responsible forestry concerns not only the goals of sustained yield timber production but also the recognized value of multiple resource utilization based on integrated land use policy and practices. By this I mean is that responsible forestry in the north country also includes managing forests to protect wildlife and other resources of the land; not simply to estimate and then extract a forest resource.

Proposed development along the Mackenzie River includes highway and pipeline construction projects which could present additional hazards to the forest environment. Increased incidence of man-caused fire, dust damage to trees, alteration of hydrological regimes and erosion constitute the most immediate impacts.

From an examination of various literature and observations in various communities, it would appear that long-range forest use and development would be more profitably and environmentally acceptable on a community rather than on a regional basis.

Lumber may be sawed and sold or used locally for buildings, docks, boats, ect., within the settlement and surplus lumber and pilings, if any, may be sold outside the community as markets develop.

Commerical use of the community forest resources should also emphasize the manufacture and sale of the finished or partially finished product rather than the sale of raw lumber which is uneconomical to transport.

The point -- one the points

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
In Chief

1 I wish to make in this discussion of forestry is that
2 the present forestry practices lean to extraction of
3 large volumes of commercially valuable timber to points
4 outside of the Northwest Territories, and they do not
5 lean towards local use or involvement by native people.
6 The most recent study of forestry was done in response
7 to the potential need for forest products for pipeline
8 development.

9 We also did a small survey
10 connected with the Fort Good Hope area from which we
11 derived certain factors concerning human resources and
12 their place in renewable resource development. I
13 summarize as follows.

14 The development of a renewable
15 resource based economy as proposed will require the
16 active participation of a majority of the native
17 people of any particular community or of the region.
18 Under an integrated renewable resource development
19 program, the traditional roles of resource harvester
20 and consumer will no longer be the only roles fulfilled
21 by native people. The development of renewable
22 resources will require residents of each community to
23 participate as administrators, professional and technical
24 resource managers, supporting clerical and technical
25 staff and as owners and managers of resource based
26 enterprises.

27 This study has shown that
28 the Dene people now possess the educational qualifica-
29 tions to assume these roles. In Fort Good Hope for
30 example, there are more than 30 young men and women

1 who have educational qualifications equal to if not
2 above those non-Dene who now fill many of the
3 resource management positions in the government of the
4 Northwest Territories. With on-the-job training and/or
5 formal courses at the technical or professional level,
6 these people would be capable of filling senior
7 administrative or technical positions within the region
8 or community.

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
In Chief

Management and development of renewable resource based economy also requires a resource-oriented population developed through public education. Formal and practical education should begin in elementary and High Schools with credit courses in natural history, ecology, resource management and administration. Practical education should also be part of the school curricula with field instruction provided by adult trappers, hunters and other foresters.

Now this is not only a problem in the Northwest Territories, it is a problem throughout most of Canada, is the lack of public education in environment and resource management.

At the present time, gross inequities exist in employment of Dene and non-Dene in each community and in wage distribution. Most of the wage income presently derives from employment outside the community.

It is of great importance to the social viability of northern communities that the economy develop in such a way that all residents can participate fully in the wage economy. That is the wage economy based on renewable resources. All necessary components for developing a perpetual and more equitable system are found within the communities of the Mackenzie River Basin and it only remains to integrate these components in the framework of renewable resource development. Renewable resource development by native people will provide meaningful and profitable employment

Stanley, Ruttan, P'Soleto
In Chief

for residents of the region and the community.

We also drew up from criteria and some guidelines for economic development. Now this is the criteria are those points which are required before any such program can take place.

I'll summarize. The development of a viable, renewable resource-based economy by and for the Dene people of the Mackenzie River region presupposes a satisfactory land claims settlement prior to construction of a pipeline. To accomplish this objective the following requirements must be met:

- . The right of native people to control the land and its renewable resources.
- . The right to a high degree of control over the extra ction and transport of non-renewable resources sufficient to limit environmental and renewable resource damage to levels acceptable to native people (i.e. the right to see that environmental safeguards are implemented)
- . The right to claim financial support from non-renewable resource development which will be applied directly to the development of the renewable resource economy.
- . The right to administrative control of renewable resource development and use by and for native people, and finally
- . The right to an interim protection period of five to ten years which will provide protection of economically valuable components of the renewable resource base until the administrative

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
In Chief

1 framework, resource evaluation and resource
2 use planning can be completed.

3 Criteria 2. Development and use of resources would
4 be within a non-paternalistic administrative frame-
5 work. That is to say that any program that is con-
6 ducted within a community must be based on full
7 participation and agreement by members of the
8 community. As Dr. Stanley's paper has demonstrated,
9 it cannot be imposed upon the people from outside
10 sources.

11 3. The development program would be community-
12 oriented to avoid inappropriate regional policies,
13 which cause conflicts between cultural groups and
14 communities or degradation of the resource base of
15 other communities. This has been one of the failures
16 in resource management over large areas, is having
17 a blanket policy to cover the resources of differing
18 ecological units or differing environments, and as
19 well as between differing communities that have
20 different needs.

21 Criteria 4. The planning and implementation would
22 totally involve the native community as administrators,
23 technicians, advisory groups, and resource users, and
24 any expanded or new development should be approved
25 by consensus.

26 5. The planning and implementation of renewable
27 resource development programs will direct itself to
28 the use, development and management of forest, fish,
29 and wildlife resources in perpetuity.

30 Some of the guidelines that

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
In Chief

we have suggested are outlined as follows:

The successful development of a viable renewable resource-based economy without serious disruption of cultural values and Dene lifestyles will require a great deal of careful planning from the outset.

We have suggested a phased program, Phase 1 being a pre-planning period which would also coincide with the interim protection period which we described before.

1. Establishment of safeguards against disruption of the community or the renewable resource base by external interests, whether they be non-renewable or renewable resource interests.
2. Preliminary identification inventory and evaluation of the renewable and human resources of the community and the region.
3. Identification and establishment of short and long-term goals and priorities for resource development based on the preliminary assessment described above.
4. Development of a preliminary prioritized plan of resource development and use for each community.
5. Development of a preliminary framework of community resource administration within which various phases of development can be implemented or modifications may take place.

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
In Chief

6. Development and/or organization of training facilities or programmes for training of administrators or specialists in various fields of resource management marketing, etc.

7. Continuation of present levels of resource use until inventory, analysis and initial resource use planning are complete.

Phase two is an expansion of this or continuation.

Expand or modify regional and community administrative framework as required.

2. Conduct detailed inventory and analysis of prioritized components of the resource base.

Develop long-range management plans for resources of the community and the region and implement prioritized management plans where feasible.

4. Implement training programmes for those selected for training in administration, direction and application of resource management and development programmes. On the job training within the community should be emphasized. Such training may be interspersed with special courses.

5. Develop facilities for management, harvesting and marketing of resources. This, incidentally, is probably one of the biggest needs within most communities, is not so much as how their resources are managed, but facilities by which they can -- the resource can be used most efficiently.

6. Investigate and identify techniques, technologies marketing systems, etc., which will maximize the benefits

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
In Chief

1 of domestic and commercial use of resources.

2 Phase three is a further
3 expansion of this. Implementation of prioritized resource
4 management and development programmes.

5 Investigation, analysis and
6 evaluation of other components of the resource base
7 and then continue with the other points mentioned.

8 Our conclusions are generally
9 these, although comprehensive renewable resource
10 inventories and economic evaluations of each resource
11 have not been presented, we have shown evidence to justify
12 the revival of a renewable resource based economy for
13 native people of the Northwest Territories. Within the
14 framework of the alternative development proposal as outlined.

15 All the components are available
16 for choosing a new direction in northern development and
17 the time is opportune for organizing the skills and
18 energies of the Dene for the enlightened management of
19 the environment, which has maintained them for so many
20 years. It only remains to accept and implement the
21 alternative development programme along the lines
22 described.

23 By acceptance and implementation of
24 the alternative development proposals, and that, I've
25 said, as outlined in this report, but that is outlined,
26 the government of Canada and the Northwest Territories
27 will make available to northern people, the full range
28 of opportunities for personal, community and regional
29 development.

30 Native people have long been

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
In Chief

1 oriented to utilize the natural flow of resources
2 without damaging the productive capacity of the land.
3 The maintenance of the multiple resource use programmes
4 here envisioned, are environmentally possible and it
5 is well within the capabilities of the northern people
6 to develop and sustain them.

7 In the presentation of this
8 document, we also assert that the benefits generated
9 by the development of natural resources should remain
10 in the north and the profits should be used to further
11 the long range economic and social well being of those
12 who occupy the land. We believe that the implementation
13 of these policies would foster the processes by which the
14 goals of harmonious integration of sustained yield
15 resource management and cultural continuity may be
16 achieved.

17 I've added a small piece to
18 our conclusions.

19 In conclusion, Mr. Commissioner,
20 we further assert that the construction and operation of
21 a pipeline is prejudicial to alternative development
22 in the Mackenzie River Valley. The potential effects
23 of pipeline construction have been discussed at great
24 length during the course of this Inquiry and a few have
25 been described in the main document which we have
26 submitted. They need not be repeated at this time.

27 However, the most serious
28 impacts or disbenefits of pipeline development and
29 use extend far beyond physical and ecological impacts
30 on specific components of the resource base. The pipeline

1 represents the first major step towards the industrializa-
2 tion of one of the last regions in Canada which is
3 capable of supporting a human population by way of its
4 renewable resources. Those of us who have been around
5 for four or five decades, have observed the effect of other
6 such developments in other parts of Canada and they are
7 not very attractive.

8 With the pipeline as a basis
9 of the economy, other related and extractive industries
10 will develop. Urban expansion will occur and non-native
11 populations will increase dramatically. With these
12 changes, the demand for land and space for housing
13 developments, industrial sites, transportation corridors
14 and recreational areas will increase with accelerating
15 loss or fragmentation of productive land areas and
16 disruption or loss of wildlife and other forest resources.
17 Access by roads and highways will also foster further
18 extraction of profitable resources such as timber, fish and
19 wildlife.

20 Increased industry, urbaniza-
21 tion and non-native populations will also make increasing
22 demands on water for hydro-power, industry and domestic
23 use. Loss and/or misuse of water resources and
24 of the fishery will be increased and proliferated by
25 pollution of lakes and streams. And last, but by no
26 means least, will be the continued reluctance of senior
27 governments to invest suitably in the development or
28 conservation of resources which are not economically or
29 politically profitable.

30 Although the renewable

1 resource base of the Mackenzie River valley is extensive
2 and extremely valuable in the long term, it is not
3 ~~inex~~haustible and exists in an environment which is
4 extremely sensitive to disturbance. Its use must
5 be planned with extreme care and if it is to sustain
6 future generations, its conservation must take priority
7 over all other resource activities. This can only
8 be accomplished by total control over land and water
9 resources, by those who now depend or will ultimately
10 depend upon them for all of their basic needs. This
11 cannot be accomplished by development of an economy
12 based only on non-renewable resource extraction or
13 industrial development such as are implicit in the
14 development of a pipeline.

15 Thank you.
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Stanley, T'Seleie, Ruttan
In Chief

1 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you,
2 Mr. Ruttan.

3 MR. BELL: Mr. T'Seleie, can
4 we hear from you now?

5 WITNESS T'SELEIE: Mr.
6 Commissioner, the only way that the Dene can
7 collectively join the money economy is through co-
8 operative developments, which have as their base the
9 renewable resources of the land.

10 The reasons to me are clear,
11 and I'll try to explain.

12 You know by now that the
13 majority of the Dene are a land-based people,
14 and that even those who have joined the wage economy
15 continue to hunt, fish and trap as often as they can.
16 This is because the Dene are a land-people who feel
17 the need to keep using the land.

18 As a land-based people we
19 know all that is necessary to know about wildlife,
20 its behaviour, its changes in population, growth cycles
21 and what sudden changes can do to it. We know that
22 the Dene have always lived on this land and that
23 there is still enough wildlife, timber and fish to
24 last for a long time. This knowledge and this
25 history is something that we gather and learn from one
26 another, from our history and from our parents.

27 Resources and labor is shared
28 among the Dene. This comes from the knowledge that the
29 land and its resources does not really belong to any one
30 person, but that it belongs to everyone.

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1 This, I think, is enough to explain renewable resource
2 development.

3 I want now to make a few
4 additional statements.

5 I've been told that in
6 Alaska there was a break in the pipeline. The reason
7 for this break was that the welders did not do their
8 job well. They didn't enjoy what they were doing
9 even though they were paid very high wages. For them
10 work was a necessary evil. To the Dene, renewable
11 resource development is not the same as work on the
12 pipeline. I think it just follows from experience
13 and knowledge.

14 From the point of view of
15 environment, renewable resource development is far
16 more preferable to non-renewable resource development.
17 It isn't hard to see that the present attitudes and
18 approaches to exploitation of non-renewable resources
19 and the degree of that exploitation are factors which
20 are threatening the survival of man. Unless we are
21 putting our hopes in people like Buckminster Fuller
22 and life on Mars, I think we should look for ways
23 more acceptable than pipelines.

24 Some people might ask why
25 renewable resource development has not caught on in
26 any large scale. To the extent that every trapper
27 is a renewable resource businessman on his own, it
28 has caught on. The blame for it not being developed
29 into co-operatives, rests with the government. The
30 emphasis of government policy has always been on non-

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1 renewable resource development. The treaties were
2 signed because of gold and oil. That approach in
3 policy has not changed to date, where oil and gas
4 companies are allied with government.

5 The last statement that I
6 want to make is that in order to pursue our objectives
7 in renewable resource development we must have the
8 right to control all non-renewable resource development.

9 That's all I have to say.

10 Thank you.

11 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you,
12 Mr. T'Seleie.

13 MR. GOUDGE: Can we take a
14 short break for coffee, sir, and then reconvene, and
15 I anticipate we'll be finished very quickly?

16 THE COMMISSIONER: All right,
17 we'll take a break for coffee and then there will be
18 a few questions, I think, of the panel.

19 (LETTER FROM C. HOBART TO J. STEEVES DATED
20 JULY 19, 1976 MARKED EXHIBIT 682)

21 (QUALIFICATIONS & EVIDENCE OF R. RUTTAN
22 MARKED EXHIBIT 683)

23 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR A FEW MINUTES)
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Cross-Exam by Bayly

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: Well ladies and gentlemen, let's come to order and we can begin the cross-examination of this panel.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. BAYLY:

Q Dr. Stanley, if I can address some questions to you please sir, we have had from various witnesses, their thoughts on land claims settlement, and I wonder if you could comment on the American experience and this in particular. I understand that many Indian groups, tribes and bands settled their claims and were allowed to retain reserve lands and that following that there was an act of legislation by the United State's Government called the Allotment Act under which ownership devolved to individuals and that there were some real problems with that, as they related to the ability of native peoples to retain their land.

Do you know anything about that and could you describe the problems that were associated with it?

WITNESS STANLEY: Yes, would you like me to respond to that?

Q Could you?

A Yes. Well you are referring of course to the experience that has taken place in the United States generally under the heading of the Allotment Act. This happened in the latter part of the 19th century and at this time many Indian tribes -- most Indian tribes in fact -- were

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Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 living on reservations. That land was considered
2 Trust land. It was not for sale and it did not belong
3 to individuals. It belonged to the tribes themselves.
4 Some, I must say well-meaning, Americans and many I
5 think not so very well-meaning Americans -- frankly
6 I think the latter coveted the land -- pushed through
7 the Congress of the United States a policy which
8 called for individual allotment . Now, this was done
9 in the name of freeing the Indians, again, making them
10 into whites. The idea being that if they had a little
11 piece of land of their ^{own}, then they would develop all the
12 other attitudes that went with having a little piece
13 of land of your own and that they would become like
14 other Americans.

15 The results of this policy
16 well, there was another motive behind this too I think.
17 This was that the Indians had more land than they
18 needed on the reservations. Therefore, once the
19 allotment had been completed for many of these
20 reservations, the land that was left over was then
21 thrown open for settlements by homesteaders. Of course,
22 in the process the Indians were given some recompense
23 but nothing I think that really approached the value
24 of the land.

25 Now, the really brutal part
26 of the Allotment Act was that the individual Indians
27 who became suddenly property owners of 180 acres or
28 in some cases less, were at first in a trust relation-
29 ship as individuals to the Federal Government. But
30 as time went ^{on}, many of these people were certified as

1 competent although there is great question that they
2 were. Their land was sold to non-Indians. So that
3 if you look at most Indian reservations -- especially
4 for example in the northern plains area, -- they will
5 look like a checkerboard if you begin to look on the
6 map and mark the plots of lands that are still -- still
7 belong to Indians and the parts that belong to non-
8 Indians.

9 In most case, the more land
10 on many of these reservations belongs to non-Indians
11 than it does to Indians. This has been disasterous.
12 It not only has robbed Indians of a viable land base,
13 but it has shattered them socially. It has made it
14 extremely difficult for the Indians to relate to
15 each other and to carry on, you know, meaningful social
16 and economic production.

17 Q As I understand the
18 projects that you have outlined that have been tried
19 by various people and in conjunction with various
20 groups or tribes of Indians, the projects that seem
21 to be resisted most by native peoples are those which
22 directly affect their land physically by mining it,
23 exploring for oil and minerals on it, etc. Would that
24 be a fair appraisal?

25 A Well, Indians -- in a
26 sense it would seem sometimes that Indian tribes are
27 almost obsessed with the notion ^{of} land and what happens
28 to it. This is not so surprising because you want to
29 remember that in many cases Indians have been living
30 in this land since the beginning. I mean we, as

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Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 anthropologists, we have our theories about the
2 settling of the New World. But that doesn't tell you
3 anything about the way Indians feel about the land.
4 It seems to me that most Indians feel that the land
5 that they are living on is a land that literally
6 created them.

7 So that when there are
8 threats to that land, Indians will react. Now, they
9 won't all react that way. You want to remember
10 within a tribe, you will always find Indians who will
11 say, "Fine. I think they ought to come in and do
12 some strip mining or something like that and in fact
13 it will be a good chance for me to get a job". But
14 usually -- although we would have to go to statistics
15 to get poll on this -- usually I think a majority
16 of Indians in a tribe will turn down projects such
17 as strip mining. There has been a very recent history
18 of that incidentally.

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2 Q I understand one of the
3 places that has taken place is in the Black Mesa area
4 in Navajo country, is that correct?

5 A Yes, well that's been
6 a very devisive kind of project, and it has, again,
7 split the Navajo tribe and caused some difficulties
8 with the Hopi's too. On the other hand, some of the
9 Navajo have gone to work in the strip mining and here
10 again, on balance, I think most Navajo would be opposed
11 to that, to that strip mining, but they don't know
12 how to get out of it really.

13 Q Right.

14 A And it continues.

15 Q Right. We've heard,
16 Dr. Stanley, from witnesses for the pipeline applicants
17 that one of the keys to success of the pipeline project
18 in the Mackenzie will be found in the willingness of
19 native peoples to participate in the project and on the
20 other hand, we've heard people in the communities who
21 expressed some of the feelings you suggest, the relation-
22 ship to the land, the feeling that they've sprung out
23 of it, or that it's part of them. Can you make, from
24 your experience, any predictions as to whether they
25 are likely to accept this kind of project if we can
26 learn anything from the American Indian experience?

27 A Well, I don't want to
28 waffle on this, but the problem, the problem is that
29 you will probably find some Indians who will go to work
30 on the pipeline. Here again, I think I will be willing

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
CROSS-Exam by Bayly

1 to say that I believe that most traditional peoples,
2 peoples who have that sense of continuity with the
3 land, with the past, will not welcome the pipeline.

4 Q Would you think that --

5 A And this is the case in
6 almost every reservation community in the States, this
7 has been the case.

8 Q Would you think there
9 would be a good likelihood that there will be some
10 split, as you've described it among the people themselves,
11 as you've experienced it in the Navajo country?

12 A It's inevitable under
13 these circumstances. Most of the splits that take place
14 in Indian communities are caused by outside pressures,
15 and these pressures are on Indians all the time. All
16 the time.

17 Q Now, one of the other
18 prerequisites to a successful pipeline in terms of its
19 effect upon and usefulness to native people's, put
20 forward by the Arctic Gas witnesses, was that native
21 people must be involved in entrepreneurial activities
22 that are generated by the pipeline in a vigorous and
23 meaningful way. Your evidence seems to be that without
24 changing themselves, native people's are unlikely to
25 take up these opportunities that have been suggested
26 by the pipeline companies, would you agree that in the
27 Mackenzie we may be faced with that kind of situation?

28 A Well, if you would look
29 at -- for example, at the Lummi study, you will find
30 there that what what gets generated out of that project,

1 which I've indicated is an unusual one because it's
2 one that the Indians themselves are wholly into, you
3 get certain entrepreneurial activities generated out
4 of that project. If you look at almost any other
5 kind of development for Indians, you don't find that
6 happening. Let me give you some examples with which
7 I'm very familiar.

8
9 If you look, I've for many
10 years been a student, a learner, if you like, of the
11 Tlingit Indians and I'm indebted to them for a great
12 many things that I've learned, and when I look at the
13 way in which they participated in the development of
14 the salmon canning industry and other industries there,
15 what I find is that for the most part, they came in,
16 if you like, at the kind of lower levels of the industry
17 and they pretty much remained there and the kinds of
18 spin-off occupations that developed, the mechanical
19 jobs, the -- you know all you have to do, incidentally
20 is look at a cannery. I once worked in a cannery, I
21 don't want to talk too long, but this may be interesting
22 to these people. I once worked in a cannery and it
23 happened that I was looking for a job in Seattle and
24 I was a student at the time and it was summer and I
25 happened just to catch on with what they called the
26 Phillipino crew, up there, and I think I was the only
27 white person in the crew. It was just an accident, I
28 wasn't trying to prove anything to anybody, but it was
29 a job and I happened to be taller than most of the
30 Phillipino's so they gave me a job stacking cans of

1 salmon out in the warehouse and this was smart of them
2 because I could reach higher. Well, when I got to
3 the cannery, I discovered that I was to live in a
4 bunkhouse with the Phillipino's which was fun, I mean,
5 I enjoyed that. We made up a little band and we
6 had dances there and it was fun. Then, I noticed that
7 there was another bunkhouse which contained whites and
8 these were the mechanics, these were the people who
9 took care of the machines. These were the specialized
10 people with training. These were the people who went
11 around and collected the fish, you know, that were in
12 the fish traps and things like that at the time.

13 Then there was a third group
14 which were the Indians and the Indians had small, very
15 small little cabins. Little separate cabins, three,
16 four, five people, usually a family in there and mostly
17 women and of course they worked at kind of menial jobs
18 within the cannery itself.

19 Well, here again, the skilled
20 jobs, the bookkeeper jobs, all these that required
21 -- there was no chance for an Indian to get into that
22 kind of a job, none whatsoever. So, here was again,
23 the exploitation of a resource by non-Indians, in which
24 the Indians got the very bottom of it and when the
25 canning industry began to peter out, you know, why,
26 the Indians were left with the dregs.

27 Q Right.

28 A Now, there's been some
29 attempt to do something about this I must say, but only
30 in very recent years when the salmon are -- it looks

1 unless we do something drastic, it looks like the salmon
2 are going to be gone, you know, because the catches
3 are going down every year.

4 Only now are they beginning
5 to give a thought to one, having some of these Tlingit
6 villages own, you know, the canneries and two, beginning
7 to train some of them to take some of the more, what
8 you might call, technical and responsible jobs in the
9 cannery.

10 But, that's what's happened
11 just in one example. I can give others, but I can talk
12 too long too.

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Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 Q Mr. Ruttan has given
2 an example of one of the kinds of resources that
3 could be used to provide material for a pipeline
4 project, one of the renewable resources, so it would
5 also fit into Mr. T'Seleie's evidence where he says
6 that the Indian people may only be interested in
7 harvesting renewable resources. What I'm concerned
8 with is what else you say about native peoples not
9 wanting to be bosses in the sense that we know of
10 the word, and yet trying to compete in the supply of
11 material for an industry which is very traditional
12 in our terms, a very structured industry. Do you
13 think that's going to work?

14 A I'm sorry, I guess
15 my hearing is not very good. I didn't understand
16 everything you said.

17 Q Mr. Ruttan has said
18 that there may be some timber required for the
19 pipeline, that native peoples could harvest this
20 timber and sell it to the pipeline company. What
21 I am --

22 WITNESS RUTTAN: I didn't
23 say that.

24 Q You said it's available
25 for harvest.

26 A I said it was available
27 for harvest, but there was no suggestion that anyone
28 intended to have native people sell it to the
29 pipeline; they intended to have other people sell it
30 to the pipeline.

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 Q Well, I won't attribute
2 it to you, then. I'll use it as my own example, that
3 one of the possibilities would be for native
4 peoples to harvest timber and sell it for pipeline
5 uses. Now, what concerns me is what you've said about
6 native peoples going into business on their own
7 terms may not want to change themselves so that
8 they're the kind of outfit that can supply timber to
9 a pipeline company.

10 WITNESS STANLEY: Well, I
11 don't know how to speak to that except to say that
12 I guess if native people want to do that, that's
13 you know, they'll do it. You know, it goes down to
14 what it is that they want to do, as far as I'm
15 concerned, and that's what will determine what
16 happens. But they have to have really a feeling that
17 they have a choice in the matter, that they themselves
18 are doing what it is that they want to do. That's
19 clear, I think.

20 Q Mr. T'Seleie, would
21 you agree that each individual community should be
22 able to decide what it wants to do with the
23 resources around it, whether it wants to have a
24 business or keep them for themselves?

25 A Well yes,
26 I think the rule is that they are the ones who are
27 going to bear the brunt of whatever happens to
28 those resources that they have probably traditionally
29 been associated with, and I would be inclined to
30 -- it seems to me a matter of wisdom, albeit gained

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 through a lot of hindsight, that you know, you have
2 to give them a considerable degree of autonomy in terms
3 of the resources that they have traditionally been
4 dependent upon.

5 Q Right.

6 A You can do the opposite,
7 you've got the power to do it, but I don't think it's
8 right.

9 Q Mr. T'Seleie, did you
10 want to comment on that?

11 WITNESS T'SELEIE: Yes, I
12 don't think we'll sell timber to the pipeline. I
13 think what we want is the right to decide whether
14 there's going to be a pipeline, and I think until we
15 have that right then we can't talk about whether
16 we're going to sell them the timber or not.

17 Q Would you agree that
18 that's a decision that the individual communities and
19 bands should be able to make as well?

20 A Yes. I think as much
21 freedom should be given to communities as they can
22 have.

23 Q Yes.

24 WITNESS RUTTAN: : I'd
25 like to interject something along this line. This
26 is something from my own experience in Northern
27 Saskatchewan, I agree with what has been said
28 here in that people should have the right of choice,
29 in a community, in a group, or on an individual
30 basis as to whether they want to engage in these

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 other wage economy projects or not. But in my
2 own experience I found that where I on two occasions
3 over a period of four years -- well, each year for
4 a period of four years on two different industries
5 I hired up to 20 Indian people from two reservations
6 that were near where I was working, one for the
7 logging industry, which I was involved in for a year,
8 and one which was a tourist industry, and which I
9 required a large number of guides for a period of
10 four years. Generally speaking, the decision to
11 work for me came as a group decision out of the
12 community, even though I preferred at some time to
13 make some personal choices of my own from among the
14 men of those communities; but the moment I made this
15 personal choice, I got no more response from the
16 community. Fortunately, I had learned a little of
17 this before it happened, so I approached the
18 community and I said, "I require so many men to
19 operate my logging, my sawmill, and to fell timber,
20 and in the fall when we have our hunting camp open I
21 require so many people as guides." I didn't specify
22 any particular
23 person. "Do the men of this community, are they
24 interested in this kind of employment?"

25 The response I got was excel-
26 lent, and now the business of bossing and so on was
27 another problem. This took care of itself when it
28 was handled by the community, in that the leaders --
29 they weren't bosses, they were simply leaders of
30 whatever group I was involved with -- and men whom,
if I had my personal choice, I would not have hired

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Bayly

1 them in the first place, were brought by the other
2 men to work for me, work on this project, and were
3 trained by the leaders. They weren't bossed by the
4 leaders, they were trained by the leaders of the
5 particular group, and under no circumstances could
6 I get any one of my guides to act as even a foreman
7 of the crew. But there was no need to do this be-
8 cause they managed this within their own relationships
9 to each other. They handled this problem very
10 successfully, they didn't need a foreman. I didn't
11 need a head guide, and if a person didn't know
12 some particular job, he obviously was taught by -- shown
13 by the man who knew how to do it and he went ahead
14 and did it, and this work was 100% success, and I
15 never had to -- and this is characteristic of the
16 four years of this involvement with native people --
17 I never, the only people I ever fired in my crew,
18 dismissed at any time were those that I had hired
19 myself, that I had picked myself. I think this is
20 very significant when you're talking about labor
21 problems associated with use of native people in
22 any particular project, is that given the opportunity
23 to govern themselves, they will govern themselves
24 most effectively and probably far more efficiently
25 and much more ably than we would govern them.

26 All my experiences point to
27 that.

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 MR. BAYLY: Thank you gentle-
2 men. Those are all the questions I have.

3 MR. GOUDGE: Mrs. MacQuarrie?

4 MRS. MacQUARRIE: No questions.

5 MR. GOUDGE: Mr. Reesor?

6 MR. REESOR: No questions.

7 MR. GOUDGE: Mr. Carter?

8 MR. CARTER: I have no
9 questions.

10 MR. GOUDGE: Mr. Hollingworth?

11 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. HOLLINGWORTH:

12 Q Mr. Ruttan, on page 25 of
13 the --

14 A Pardon me sir. You will
15 have to speak fairly distinctly because I have a
16 little trouble hearing.

17 Q All right. On page 25
18 of the paper you read that's apparently authored by
19 both you and Mr. T'Seleie --

20 A Is that the summary or
21 the main paper?

22 Q That's the paper you
23 read.

24 A All right.

25 Q You make the statement
26 in the second paragraph:

27 "In Fort Good Hope for example, there are more
28 than 30 young men and women who have educational
29 qualifications equal to if not above those non-Dene
30 who now fill many of the resource management

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 positions in the Government of the Northwest
2 Territories".

3 Your point is I take it that these people could now
4 in fact be a part of the wage economy in that they
5 could be working for the Government of the Territories
6 in their hometown.

7 A That is correct.

8 Q Yes. Are you familiar
9 with the evidence of Dr. Asch who appeared for the
10 Brotherhood?

11 A I haven't read all of
12 his paper.

13 Q Well he was writing about
14 various things and was devoting most of his attention
15 to the Town of Wrigley.

16 A Yes.

17 Q It was his evidence
18 that wage economy -- and he was thinking of wage
19 economy in the oil and ^{gas} industry -- went to young
20 people and that it was rather destructive because it
21 had gone to those people and they tended to be wasteful
22 of their wages. They spent it on frivolous parties
23 and things like that whereas the older people who had
24 families to support tended not to get this wage work.
25 Do you see -- do you have any agreement with that
26 position of Dr. Asch?

27 A Well that is one of the
28 -- I see that as one of the pitfalls of the wage
29 economy based on industrial development. This
30 reference I made in my paper was to people who are

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 capable of managing the renewable resources of the
2 community where any form of -- where some form of --
3 we might say of "higher education" was necessary to
4 fulfill a certain administrative or technical role.
5 I don't think it had anything to do basically -- when
6 I said young people too, I referred to anyone who is
7 physically able -- and some of these young people were
8 45 years old. There were many others coming --
9 Anybody younger than myself is young, you know.

10 But I was referring to this
11 in our paper. I think John perhaps may want to add
12 some comment on this.

13 WITNES T'SELEIE: I think
14 what that part is about is about people that have
15 a certain education and who could be doing something
16 else and yet they are still there in the community
17 with this kind of education. A lot of them go out
18 on the land with their parents and that. That is what
19 it's about, I think.

20 WITNESS RUTTAN: Well did
21 we answer your question sir?

22 Q Well I am not so quite
23 sure you did. I'd just like to expand on it a bit
24 more. These people -- young people -- and they could
25 go up to age 45 that you speak of, I presume that you
26 are thinking of 30 particular individuals in making
27 that statement.

28 A We, as John can attest,
29 we did a sort of a survey of the people who are in the
30 area as to their educational levels. That is, by white

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 man's standards. This is a fairly conservative
2 figure of people that have educational qualifications
3 equal to if not above many of the people who are
4 now engaged in government positions or white people
5 and non-Indian people or Metis people that are engaged
6 in government work.

7 I am not sure what the
8 connection is. I have no argument with what Mr. Asch
9 said in his paper at all. I am not sure what your
10 argument relates to.

11 Q Well all right then.
12 I guess it revolves around a definition of young.
13 You say you have told me your answer now which it
14 what I was looking for is that you have no quarrel
15 with what Dr. Asch said. That you agree that wages
16 going to younger single people can be destructive.

17 A The wage system -- the
18 particular system that they are doing because I think
19 that Dr. Asch, as I recall from his paper -- I think
20 Dr. Asch implied that much of the work that was being
21 done outside the community, by people outside
22 was fairly meaningless. I think as John pointed out,
23 that there is two kinds of work. If you work as a
24 native person and I will try to explain it as best I
25 can as I see it -- you have various reasons for working.
26 You go out and you work for wages for which you are
27 going to have a good time with. Or you go out and work
28 for a few wages in which you wish to buy a kicker
29 for your boat -- for your canoe when you go home.

30 I don't think -- I don't think

Stanley, Ruttan, M'Selele
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 that this statement here has really any connection
2 with the wage economy that you are talking about.

3 Q Well is it your evidence
4 then that depending on the form of work from which
5 wages arise -- say a person might either spend it on
6 frivolous parties or use it to some more constructive
7 needs?

8 A I would be inclined
9 to think that the people have a right to use the
10 money however they see fit that they earn from
11 whatever means they earn it. If they feel like going
12 and getting drunk, that is their prerogative. If
13 they feel like building a house with it, that is also
14 their prerogative. I don't think we have any right
15 to suggest it to these people how they should spend
16 their money. That's all I am going to say on that
17 point.

1 Q Well, I quite agree with
2 that sir, but I would like an answer to my question.

3 Is it your evidence that the
4 source from which wages derive has some bearing on how
5 that money will be spent, whether on frivolous parties
6 or on more constructive things?

7 A I never said anything
8 of the kind.

9 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, let
10 me just put it to you this way. What Mr. Hollingworth
11 is saying, as I understand it is this, Dr. Asch has
12 asserted that his own experience in Wrigley was that
13 young men employed on seismic crews and other things --

14 A M-hm.

15 Q And receiving wages,
16 reasonably high wages, often spent the money on things
17 that you and I might regard as frivolous, on drinking
18 and forms of consumption that we don't approve of.

19 Now, he's suggesting that
20 you've outlined a system of community enterprises.

21 A M-hm.

22 Q Where presumably people
23 would get paid or receive wages.

24 A Possibly.

25 Q For the work they do.

26 Now, will the way they spend
27 their wages be any different if they earn them in a
28 community enterprise than it is in the case of the
29 young men at Wrigley, if that is so. We only have
30 Dr. Asch's evidence to go on, will the pattern of

1 expenditure be any different?

2 A I can't say.

3 Q I know you say it's/right their

4 to do what they want with it.

5 A Yes.

6 Q But what about the question?

7 You can't say?

8 A I couldn't answer that
9 question. Perhaps John can answer that question.

10 Q Well, I think he's about
11 to.

12 WITNESS T'SELEIE: I think
13 it's something else that Dr. Asch said was that the
14 cash economy destroys the sharing and that sort of thing.

15 Yes, I think that things like
16 seismic, people can make a lot of money in a really
17 short time and they don't have to work that hard for
18 it so when they come back they spend it on very foolish
19 things. Whereas, if you earn your wage by something
20 that -- well, that's not only harder in a way, but where
21 you've -- you just don't go there to work, it's worth
22 more in that sense. You tend to be more careful about
23 how you spend it, you know, I think.

24 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Has that
25 been your experience sir?

26 A My experience?

27 Q Yes.

28 A Yes. I've worked on
29 seismic a couple of times and I've spent my money
30 foolishly, yes.

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

Q Okay.

Now, on page 34, you say,
'with the pipeline as the basis of the
economy, other related and extractive industries
will develop."

Which related and extractive
industries did you have in mind?

WITNESS RUTTAN: I'm thinking
of, more often I'm thinking of such industries as the
lumber industry or perhaps other mining industries
that are, you might say, spin-offs from the production
of oil or the transport of oil through the area. The
building of roads and so on opens the country up to
other forms of exploitation, which has been the history
of this country for quite a long number of years and
it could apply to -- but particularly, when I say
extractive, I mean if you want to generalize the word
a little bit, extractive means taking it out of
the country, or at least taking the profit out of the
country and not recycling it in the area.

Pardon?

THE COMMISSIONER: You mean
out of the north?

A Out of the north, yes.

MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Mr. Blair,
the president of Foothills appeared here last year and
said that his wide experience with the pipeline industry,
in fact industries -- spin-off industries seldom did
accompany pipelines and he pointed to northern Alberta
where the Alberta Gas Trunkline has a substantial network

1 of pipelines but there's very little of any industry of
2 the type you fear.

3 A Well, I can't --

4 THE COMMISSIONER: His point
5 was that that's why you have a pipeline, to get the
6 energy out of the area where it comes from to the industrial
7 base elsewhere.

8 A That's true, but -- and
9 that may be true in whatever spot you
10 were talking about, with which I'm not familiar, however,
11 the mere development, the mere construction of the
12 pipeline, as I know from my own experience with the
13 studies of another company whose name shall remain
14 nameless, show that there will be road development,
15 there will be access roads, there will be airfields
16 built in this country, there will be other facilities
17 that will be ready, if for no other reason, just simply
18 to get that pipeline built, that will allow or foster
19 other activities in this country, that are resource
20 use activities and that is in the design of the present
21 pipeline.

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 Q I take it that you're
2 referring to Canadian Arctic Gas.

3 A Yes sir.

4 Q Pipeline, and my under-
5 standing of their application -- I'm sure Mr. Carter
6 will catch me up if I'm wrong -- is that they're
7 going to use winter roads throughout in the construc-
8 tion of their pipeline. Now, how is that going to
9 assist in an extractive industries?

10 A Well, if they're going
11 to use winter roads throughout, are they also going
12 to not use the Mackenzie Highway, for example, and
13 will they not perhaps be required to use some main-
14 tenance on the Mackenzie Highway? In the original
15 submissions of Canadian Arctic Gas, there were two
16 kinds of roads being built. There were permanent
17 roads and there were winter roads, and I'm quite
18 certain that those were in some of the material
19 because I was asked to comment on the effect of
20 these things as an environmentalist.

21 Q Well, two points --

22 A And I commented on them.

23 Q Sorry. Two points there,
24 sir. First of all, you'll agree with me that the
25 Mackenzie Highway is there whether there's a pipeline
26 or not at the moment.

27 A That's possibly true.

28 Q Not possibly true,
29 it's true, isn't it?

30 A Yes.

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 Q The second point is,
2 can you refer me to where these permanent roads
3 are that are being proposed by Arctic Gas?

4 A Can I what?

5 Q Refer me to where
6 these permanent roads are that are being suggested
7 by Arctic Gas?

8 A I cannot recall all of
9 the locations and I don't think at this time I
10 should. Out of deference to my employer at that
11 time, but these were definitely part of the design
12 and I think you could find them in some of the
13 presentations that were made before this hearing.

14 Q Well, I suggest to
15 you, and accept this proposition for the moment,
16 that no permanent roads are suggested by Arctic
17 Gas.

18 A Oh, there are no
19 permanent roads? All right.

20 Q Just accept it as a
21 proposition for the sake of this discussion. What
22 extractive industries are going to follow that
23 take advantage of the pipeline proceedings?

24 A All right, let's put
25 it another way. We'll say that for the purposes of
26 building the pipeline, no permanent roads will be
27 developed. All right, I'll accept that for the moment.
28 The pipeline will attract, and the building of this
29 pipeline will attract quite a large amount of number
30 of humans, non-residents of the north, there will be

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 many businesses associated with development, with the
2 development of the pipeline that will be developed
3 here. There are already businesses that have expanded
4 in this community. The present road system will be
5 improved, and I cannot see it being otherwise, to
6 handle the expansion in population and other
7 industries that are developed. They may not be
8 directly related to the pipeline. As I said in the
9 first place, the pipeline represents the industrial
10 development of the north, it is the first step in
11 the industrial development of the north, and if you
12 have been around Yellowknife for the last few years
13 you have seen the development of roads around
14 Yellowknife and we haven't even got to square one
15 when it comes to building a pipeline. But yet one
16 of the major attractions for the north country today
17 is the future industrial development which begins
18 in a large scale with the development of this
19 pipeline, and with the extractions of oil and gas
20 and so on that will go through that pipeline.

21 Q How would a gas pipe-
22 line benefit the lumber industry?

23 A Well, at the present
24 time or very recently -- I haven't the paper in
25 front of me, but I have it referred to in one of
26 my, in the main part of my report, I've forgotten the
27 paper -- but it was conducted by -- a study was
28 conducted by a consulting firm in the Fort Simpson-
29 Liard areas, a very definite study in which they
30 stated that one of the reasons for conducting a

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 study of the timber resource was to develop a saw-
2 mill somewhere in the north, and I think they
3 settled upon the recommendation -- they settled
4 upon the Fort Simpson area which I think right in
5 the objectives of the study they stated quite
6 bluntly that this was for timber needed for pipeline
7 development. I think those are almost the exact
8 words.

9 Q Would that be the
10 Schultz study of 1973?

11 A The Schultz study, yes.
12 I couldn't just locate it.

13 Q So that assistance
14 to the lumber industry is restricted to the need for
15 pilings and things of that nature during construction.

16 A I didn't hear you, sir.

17 Q So that the assistance
18 the pipeline renders to the lumber industry is in the
19 way of a demand for pilings and such that would be
20 needed during construction?

21 A Pilings or lumber or
22 what have you, yes.

23 Q But after construction
24 there wouldn't be any benefit to the lumber industry.

25 A Not from that particular
26 lumber industry, no.

27 Q And what --

28 A Except that the mill
29 would already be established, and I would imagine
30 -- and in the statement concerning the recommendations

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 for the construction of the mill, they emphasized
2 this mill being operated by native people and this
3 mill would likely continue, it would be justified
4 on the basis of the pipeline that the wood market
5 was there, that it be handled by entrepreneurs.
6 I think that was one of the recommendations in the
7 report. That they use native people as often as
8 possible and the mill would still be there after the
9 pipeline went, and the mill would continue to
10 extract for the entrepreneur or whoever owned it,
11 would continue to extract lumber for sale somewhere
12 in the area with the profits probably going to
13 outside of the Territory.

Stanley, Rutan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 Q So the mill has to
2 find itself a buyer.

3 A I beg your pardon again?

4 Q The mill has to find
5 itself a buyer for its products after the pipeline
6 is built, but other than that there is no problem.

7 A Yes.

8 Q How does the pipeline
9 assist the mining industry?

10 A I am not sure what the
11 future of this pipeline will do in the direct assistance
12 to a mining industry. But certainly the mining
13 industry, if you call petrochemical a mining industry,
14 will also justify this pipeline. I think that is one
15 of the reasons it is being built, isn't it sir? Is
16 that right?

17 Q I am sorry. I didn't
18 catch all your answer.

19 A I said that the pipeline
20 is being built to service part of the mining industry,
21 is it not?-- which is the petrochemical extraction
22 industry. Right?

23 Q My understanding --

24 THE COMMISSIONER: That
25 isn't development up here. If it is being built for
26 that purpose, that is down south.

27 A Oh but no sir. Doesn't
28 the pipeline used to transport oil that is extracted
29 out of the north.

30 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Yes, but that

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 is not petrochemical.

2 A Well, whatever is
3 involved with the petrochemical industry does not
4 something like that go through the pipeline?

5 Q Well let's just clear
6 that point up. You use this word petrochemical
7 industry in several places. You use the word "petro-
8 chemical industry in several places.

9 A I am using it to generalize
10 the term in the oil industry; oil, gas. This is
11 what I am using.

12 Q Not the secondary
13 processing of petroleum and gas products.

14 A Well not necessarily.
15 No.

16 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse
17 me. Could I just say this that we have heard a lot
18 of evidence about economic impact. As I understand
19 it, Mr. Ruttan does not hold himself out as an expert
20 on the economic impact of the pipeline, but that his
21 paper was a discussion of ways of developing community
22 enterprises that would constitute an alternative
23 program of economic development for native people
24 alternative to the pipeline. I just want to make it
25 clear Mr. Hollingworth that that passage that you
26 rightly took up with Mr. Ruttan was one that I noticed
27 and I really don't intend to rely on it because we
28 have heard a lot of evidence on that subject, including
29 Mr. Blair's.

30 Well, Mr. Ruttan, don't get me

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 wrong. I intend to take your evidence on community
2 development into account. I didn't think you are
3 holding yourself out as an expert on the ramifications
4 to the northern economy of pipeline construction and
5 development that's all.

6 A No I didn't nor did I
7 intend to be sir.

8 Q Well you snuck a few
9 things in there. Everybody does it.

10 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: I took the
11 bait is what he's saying. I have no further questions.

12 MR. GOUDGE: I just have
13 one or two questions sir.

14 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GOUDGE:

15 Q Dr. Stanley, let me
16 ask you this. You deal in your studies with a summary
17 of the Navaho study by Dr. Ruffing on page 41, and
18 am I correct in assuming from your evidence that the
19 Navajo first owned their own land. Secondly that land
20 has been subject to mineral extraction?

21 WITNESS STANLEY: Yes, that
22 is correct in that the Navajo reservation is the
23 largest in the United States just as the Navajo tribe
24 is the largest tribe in the United States. For those
25 who may not know it, they speak a language which is
26 very close to the language that is spoken by the native
27 peoples of the Northwest Territories.

28 The Navajo reservation has
29 been enlarged by executive order on a couple of
30 occasions and there is very little allotted land on a

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 Navajo reservation.

2 A few years back the Navajo
3 Tribal Council entered into an agreement with Peabody
4 Coal to set up some strip mining. The Hopi Tribal
5 Council did the same thing on a place called Black
6 Mesa in Arizona. The work has commenced and it is
7 going on. The coal incidentally is sluiced down to
8 -- I can't remember the name of the place in Arizona
9 but it is south of there quite a few miles. There it
10 is burned to generate electricity for Los Angeles and
11 other parts of the southwest in the United States.

12 This project has been opposed
13 by many Navajo and by many Hopi . At the same time,
14 it has provided employment for Navajo and for Hopi
15 also. It is a controversial issue on both the
16 Navajo and the Hopi reservations. What else were you --

17 Q Well let me ask you
18 in particular , I take it that kind of mineral
19 extraction benefits the Navajo in terms of things
20 like lease payments and royalties?
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Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 A Correct. That's what
2 they receive. Lease payments, they receive royalties,
3 and there are some wages. Inc identally, the Navajo
4 also have some natural gas and they also have some
5 oil, and they lease that too.

6 Q That's a development
7 of those --

8 A The development is on
9 a leased basis; and in the oil and the natural gas
10 extraction there is very little actual Navajo involve-
11 ment in that process.

12 Q Now let me ask you
13 whether the Navajo involvement in any of those
14 raw material processes goes to the extent of
15 having any control over the timing or physical
16 expense of the development.

17 A Yes, I can't answer
18 that in detail. I haven't, you know, read the
19 contracts and things likethat, but the reports which
20 I have read indicate that the Navajo involvement
21 along the lines that you're describing is minimal.

22 Q Now, as I read the
23 report itself, a relatively pessimistic conclusion,
24 if you will, is drawn about the Navajo in these
25 terms in particular, quoting from page 108 of the
26 report:

27 "Navajos are not being integrated as a
28 tribe into the larger society but are being
29 squeezed dry by it, and they are being
30 neither integrated nor assimilated into the

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 larger society as individuals but pushed
2 into its lower echelons on most unfavorable
3 terms."

4 I take it you're familiar with that passage and you
5 concur with it.

6 A Yes.

7 Q Now let me ask you,
8 if you see any relationship between the mineral
9 extraction techniques used on Navajo lands and the
10 conclusions that I just read to you. That is is
11 there a cause and effect relationship of any sub-
12 stance so that if one changed the mineral extrac-
13 tion techniques in some fashion, the conclusion would
14 be otherwise.

15 A Well, I would venture
16 to say that if the Navajo were more unanimous about
17 the mineral extraction, if it were perceived as a
18 legitimate Navajo operation, then you might get Navajo
19 involvement at many different levels. The present --
20 let me go back again. See if I understand you
21 correctly because you mentioned a cause and effect
22 relationship.

23 Q Yes, I am interested
24 in whether you see any cause and effect relationship
25 between as cause --

26 A Yes.

27 Q -- the kind of extraction
28 technique that exists on Navajo lands --

29 A Yes.

30 Q -- and as effect, the

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 conclusion that is drawn in this report?

2 A I can't say that I see
3 an exact cause and effect relationship. There are
4 a number of factors operating on the Navajo. They
5 are under a lot of pressures. They have the
6 problems of population growth. They are in the
7 process of trying to develop a viable political
8 institution, and they might make it, one that's
9 responsive to the people through their chapter
10 system; they are operating under a system of
11 values which emphasizes their close relationship
12 to the land, to their raising of sheep. It's amazing,
13 they are a kinship oriented group of people. Many
14 of their ceremonial life is still quite intact.
15 At the same time they are under great pressure and
16 have in fact in the last 20 years there are a number
17 of schools that have been built on the Navajo Reserva-
18 tion that will knock your^{eyes} out and they have been exposed
19 to suddenly to western education and they are now
20 in the process of trying to get a grip on that by --
21 their method has been to develop their own Navajo
22 School Board and to try to begin to teach in the
23 schools what they think - what the elders think
24 ought to be taught. All of these things -- what
25 I'm trying to do is convey the sense of perhaps
26 frustration, anxiety, maybe exhilaration, and certainly
27 the pressures for change that are really, really
28 rocking the Navajo today.

29 Q Let me ask you this
30 specifically and then I'll leave it. Would it make any

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 difference if the extraction arrangements included
2 not simply leases and royalties, but some input into
3 timing and geographic extent?

4 A Oh, I think that would
5 make a good deal of difference, yes.

6 Q Now on page 42 of your
7 paper, you refer as a first conclusion from your
8 studies to the need for time for the Indian tribes
9 concerned to study, think and talk over the
10 implications of any given economic development
11 program.

12 A Yes.

13 Q Does your work with
14 these studies give you any set of criteria as to
15 how much time is necessary in any particular
16 circumstance, or is that simply a general assertion
17 and you're not able to go beyond that?

1 A It's a general assertion
2 and I wish I could make it more specific, but it has --
3 it really ties in with the individual case and in the
4 case of the Lummi, one of the things that I didn't
5 probably emphasize enough, but it comes out, I think
6 in the general document, there was a considerable
7 amount of consultation about the aquaculture project
8 and about the possibility of magnesium reduction plant
9 too.

10 They're a smaller group
11 of course, they are more compact so that face to face
12 communication is possible and does occur and when it
13 occurs with a great deal of openness, you can begin
14 to get community understanding on the part of the
15 people and you can, I think, get some successful
16 development.

17 When you come to a large
18 group like the Papago or the Navajo, then you're dealing
19 with a group which is not only large, but which is
20 scattered too and therefore, to get information spread
21 out throughout the group requires a good deal of
22 time. Not only that, but you're dealing with a group
23 of people who are not -- you know, all that fluent in
24 English either, so that you do have some problems to
25 consider, if you want to follow that advice, to give
26 tribes time to think and study about these programmes.

27 How many -- I mean, just to
28 put it in a rhetorical sense, how many of us have been
29 fast talked by somebody at one time or the other? You
30 know, you ever get the feeling that when somebody's

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 trying to sell you something? Wait a minute, I want
2 some time to think about this. Well, Indians feel that.
3 If you've ever had that feeling, you know what I'm talking
4 about. Indians get that -- from their point of view,
5 all the time and it's very confusing and that's why
6 this caveat comes out because time and again in the
7 reports Indians complained that they did not understand
8 these programmes and that they did need more time
9 and sometimes in retrospect they will negatively, you
10 see, negatively react to a programme that they will
11 later perceive was a pretty good one. You know, in
12 retrospect, but they will tell you, well, the reason
13 I voted against it was I didn't understand it.

14 Now, two years later, you
15 know that was a pretty good thing he was telling me and
16 maybe we should have done that, but the reason we didn't
17 was because we didn't understand it and now after two
18 years we understand it and maybe we'd like to do that.
19 Maybe he'll come around again and ask about doing
20 that. Do you see what I'm saying?

21 Q Yes. Thank you.

22 A And incidentally, the
23 frame of reference for many of the Indians, for example
24 like your traditional Papago is a different frame of
25 reference than most developers have and so it takes
26 a long time for them to bring whatever is being proposed,
27 whether it's a , you know a mining lease, or you know,
28 the development of a string of television towers or
29 what, for them to really bring that into focus and
30 until they do that, my advice of course, is don't do any.

Q Well, thank you.

Now, Mr. Ruttan, if I could turn to you just briefly. On page 10 of the evidence we have, you've described to the Commissioner earlier how you came upon the replacement value of fish taken over the six month period in 1975 in the Good Hope region. Can you tell us briefly what assumptions you made in predicting an annual production possibility of 500,000 to 1,000,000 pounds of fish, I take it on a self-- on a sustaining basis?

WITNESS RUTTAN: Yes. Most of the material for this, based on a combination of two factors, they -- in the first place, let me explain this, in the first place, my data from which I obtained this very rough estimate of what I would say perhaps is a conservative estimate comes from two sources. Mainly the information that had been gathered by the federal fisheries people and I've reference to at least one of their reports in this thing, as to the potential productivity of these lakes.

The other source of information was a direct source of information which John collected from the people of Fort Good Hope. The information he collected from the people from Fort Good Hope only included that particular settlement, it did not include the present use of fish by the Coleville Lake portion of the dual community, which is higher actually, than the production from possible use of the people of Fort Good Hope on a per capita basis.

The two figures combined,

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 the material from the two sources of data combined
2 made this type of an estimate reasonable. This is really
3 a tongue in cheek estimate based on a number of things.
4 It isn't a careful calculation.

5 A large production of the fish
6 from Fort Good Hope, for example, was taken out
7 of ten lakes out of some fifty available lakes in the
8 area and it was a considerable amount of fish, just
9 by that community alone, and as John can probably attest,
10 a similar amount of fish out of the Coleville Lake
11 portion of the community is quite reasonably even
12 more possible from that area and with the amount
13 of fish that are available, and the amount that people
14 presently utilize, even at a fairly low utilization
15 point, relatively speaking, this figure I feel is a
16 quite reasonable figure.

1 Q Yes and similarly I
2 take it you would make the same remarks about the
3 annual harvest that could be made of caribou that
4 you recite on page 18 where you talk about 15,000
5 caribou. That again, I take it is a -- if not tongue
6 in cheek, off the cuff as the Commissioner said
7 earlier -- and simply a ballpark figure?

8 A A ballpark figure
9 definitely and one which I wouldn't recommend this
10 figure. Let's put it this way -- without analysis
11 of the population from which you were going to take
12 the herd. These are -- I simply have tried to identify
13 and/or flag the potentials of these resources-- the
14 potential production of these resources without
15 depleting the resource. I would not under any
16 circumstances recommend this as a figure. For instance
17 there are a number of things without some more careful
18 analysis of the populations whether they be fish,
19 caribou or what have you.

20 Q Yes and that further
21 study I take it might well reveal a considerably
22 different figure.

23 Oh yes, but I was --
24 since so little is known of the herd -- that is known
25 officially or by the government and of the condition
26 or the state of that herd, I based much of my estimate
27 on the level of use by the people -- present level
28 of use by the people and my own personal observations
29 of the herd plus the reports of the hunters of that
30 community which were picked up by John here.

Stanley, Ruttan, T'Seleie
Cross-Exam by Goudge

1 MR. GOUDGE: Yes. Thank
2 you very much. Those are all the questions I have
3 of this panel sir.

4 I should say before we
5 finish sir that we may take the liberty which I trust
6 my friend Mr. Bell won't take exception to, of
7 writing posing further questions of Dr. Stanley about
8 some of his specific reports and if we do, certainly
9 from our point of view a response by letter would be
10 greatly appreciated.

11 THE COMMISSIONER: Fine.
12 Well thank you Mr. T'Seleie and Mr. Ruttan and Dr.
13 Stanley, especially for coming all the way from
14 Washington, D.C. to share your thoughts with us. It
15 has been a most interesting day and most helpful to
16 the Inquiry.

17 The Inquiry is adjourned then
18 until it reconvenes in Fort Rae on June 9th?

19 MR. GOUDGE: August 9th sir.

20 THE COMMISSIONER: August.
21 Right.

22

23

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(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO AUGUST 16, 1976)

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